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SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
AND ILLUSTRATED BY REMARKS,

CHIEFLY
FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS AND OTHERS IN INDIA.

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L.,

LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

PART THIRD.

THE VEDAS · OPINIONS OF THEIR AUTHORS, AND OF LATER INDIAN
WRITERS, IN REGARD TO THEIR ORIGIN, INSPIRATION,
AND AUTHORITY.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

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P R E F A C E.

THE principal object which I have had in view in this volume, as in the two which preceded it, has been to assist the researches of those Hindus who may desire to investigate critically the most important points in the civil and religious history of their nation. Having shown in the First Part that the mythical and legendary accounts, given in the Puranas, etc., regarding the origin of the caste system which has long prevailed in India, are mutually contradictory and totally insufficient to establish the truth of the popular belief regarding the distinct creation of four separate tribes; and having endeavoured to prove, in the Second Part, by a variety of arguments, drawn chiefly from comparative philology and from the contents of the Rig-veda, that the Hindus are descended from a branch of the Indo-Germanic stock, which dwelt originally along with the other cognate races, in Central Asia, and subsequently migrated into Northern Hindustan, where the Brahmanical religion and institutions were developed and matured;—I now come, in this Third Part, to consider more particularly the history of the Vedas, regarded as the sacred Scriptures of the Hindus, and the inspired source *from* which their religious and philosophical systems (though, to a great extent, founded also on

reasoning and speculation) profess to be mainly derived ; or *with* which, at least, they all pretend to be in harmony.

When I speak, however, of the *history* of the Veda, I am reminded that I am employing a term which will suggest to the philosophical reader the idea of a minute and systematic account of all the various opinions which the Indians have held in regard to their sacred books from the commencement, through all the successive stages of their theological development, down to the present time. To do anything like this, however, would be a task demanding an extent of research far exceeding that to which I can pretend. At some future time, indeed, we may hope that a history of the theological and speculative ideas of the Indians, which shall treat this branch also of the subject, may be written by some competent scholar. My own design is much more modest. I only attempt to show what are the opinions on the subject of the Veda, which have been entertained by certain distinct sets of writers whom I may broadly divide into three classes—(1) the mythological, (2) the scholastic, and (3) the Vedic.

The first, or mythological class, embraces the writers of the different Puranas and Itihāsas, and partially those of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, who, like the compilers of the Puranas, frequently combine the mythological with the theosophic element.

The second, or scholastic class, includes the authors of the different philosophical schools, or Darśanas, with their scholiasts and expositors, and the commentators on the Vedas. The whole of these writers belong

to the class of systematic or philosophical theologians ; but as their speculative principles differ, it is the object of each particular school to explain and establish the origin and authority of the Vedas on grounds conformable to its own fundamental dogmas, as well as to expound the doctrines of the sacred books in such a way as to harmonise with its own special tenets.

The third class of writers, whose opinions in regard to the Vedas I have attempted to exhibit, is composed (1) of the rishis themselves, the authors of the Vedic hymns, and (2) of the authors of the Upanishads, which, though works of a much more recent date, and for the most part of a different character from the hymns, are yet regarded by later Indian writers as forming, equally with the latter, a part of the Veda. As the authors of the hymns, the earliest of them at least, lived in an age of simple conceptions, and of spontaneous and childlike devotion, we shall find that, though some of them appear, in conformity with the spirit of their times, to have regarded their compositions as in a certain degree the result of divine inspiration, their primeval and elementary ideas on this subject form a strong contrast to the artificial and systematic definitions of the later scholastic writers. And even the authors of the Upanishads, though they, in a more distinct manner, claim a superhuman authority for their own productions, are very far from recognizing the rigid classification which, at a subsequent period, divided the Vedic writings from all other religious works, by a broad line of demarcation.

It may conduce to the convenience of the reader, if I furnish here a brief survey of the opinions of the three

classes of writers above described, in regard to the Vedas, as these opinions are shown in the passages which are collected in the present volume. And this becomes the more expedient, as, since the body of this work was composed, I have discovered some additional texts of considerable importance, representing the tenets of the Mīmāṃsaka and Naiyāyika schools, either in fuller detail or under somewhat different aspects, which I have had to throw into an appendix, and to which it is therefore the more necessary that I should here draw the reader's attention in connection with the other texts of the same schools, which are cited in the earlier part of the collection.

The first chapter (p. 1-113) contains texts exhibiting the opinions on the origin, division, inspiration, and authority of the Vedas, which have been held by Indian authors subsequent to the collection of the Vedic Hymns, and consequently embraces the views of the first two of the classes of writers above specified, viz., (1) the mythological and (2) the scholastic. In the first Section (pp. 3-6), I adduce texts from the Satapatha Brahmana, the Chhandogya Upanishad, and the Institutes of Manu, in which the first three Vedas are described as having been produced from fire, air, and the sun. In the second Section (pp. 6-12) are quoted two passages from the Vishnu and Bhāgavata Puranas, which represent the four Vedas to have issued from the mouth of Brahmā at the creation; a third from the Vrihad Aranyaka Upanishad, which describes the Vedas, as well as other śāstras, as being the breath of Brahma; several from the Harivaṃśa, which speak of the Vedas as pro-

duced from the Gāyatrī, or as created by Brahmā; another from the Mahābhārata, which describes Sarasvatī as the mother of the Vedas; with two from the Rik and Atharva Vedas, one of which derives the Vedas from the mystical victim Purusha, and the other makes them spring from Time. In page 227 of the Appendix a second passage of the Atharva-veda is cited, in which the Vedas are declared to have sprung from the leavings of the sacrifice (*uchehlīshṭa*). Another text is quoted from Manu, which describes the Vedas, along with certain other objects, as being the *second* manifestation of the *Sattva-guna*, or pure principle, while Brahma is one of its *first* manifestations. Two further quotations from the Vishnu Purana assert the eternity of the Veda and its oneness with Vishnu. The third Section (pp. 12-19) contains various passages from Manu, in which the great dignity, power, authority, and efficacy of the Veda are celebrated; together with two other texts from the same author and the Vishnu Purana, in which a certain impurity is predicated of the Sāma-veda; and two more from the Vāyu and Brahma-vaivartta Puranas, which derogate in some degree from the consideration of the Vedas, by setting up a counter claim to respect in favour of the Puranas. A further passage is quoted from the Mundaka Upanishad, in which the Vedas and their appendages are designated as the “inferior science,” in contrast to the “superior science,” the knowledge of Soul. The fourth Section (pp. 20-31) describes the division of the Vedas in the third or Dvāpara age, by Vedavyāsa and his four pupils, according to texts of the Vishnu, Vāyu, and Bhāgavata Puranas; and then ad-

duces a different account, asserting their division in the second or Tretā age, by the King Purūravas, according to another passage of the same Bhāgavata Purana, and a text of the Mahābhārata (though the latter is silent regarding Purūravas). Section fifth (pp. 31-39) contains passages from the Vishnu and Vāyu Puranas and the Śatapatha Brahmana, regarding the schism between the adherents of the Yajur-veda, as represented by the different schools of Vaiśampāyana and Yājñavalkya, and quotes certain remarks of Prof. Weber on the same subject, with some other texts, as adduced and illustrated by that scholar, on the hostility of the Atharvanas towards the other Vedas, and of the Chhandogas towards the Rig-veda.

Section vi. (pp. 39-52) contains extracts from the works of Sāyana and Mādhava, the commentators on the Rik and Taittirīya Yajur Vedas, in which they both define the characteristics of the Veda, and state certain arguments in support of its authority. Sāyana (pp. 40-47), after noticing the objections urged against his views by persons of a different school, and defining the Veda as a work consisting of Mantra and Brahmana, asserts that it is not derived from any personal, or at least not from any human, author (compare note 39, p. 51); and rests its authority on its own declarations, on its self-proving power, on the *smṛiti* (*i.e.*, non-vedic writings of eminent saints), and on common notoriety. He then encounters some other objections raised against the Veda on the score of its containing passages which are unintelligible, dubious, absurd, contradictory, or superfluous. Mādhava (pp. 47-52) defines the Veda as the work which alone

reveals the supernatural means of attaining future felicity ; explains that males only, belonging to the three superior castes, are competent to study its contents ; and asserts that, inasmuch as it is eternal, it is a primary and infallible authority. This eternity of the Veda, however, he appears to interpret as not being absolute, but as dating from the first creation, when it was produced from Brahma, though, as he is free from defects, the Veda, as his work, is self-proved.

Section vii. (pp. 52-73) contains the views of Jaimini and Bādarāyana the (alleged) authors of the Mīmāṃsā and Brahma (or Vedānta) Sūtras on the eternity of the Veda. Jaimini asserts that sound, or words, are eternal, that the connection between words and the objects they represent also, is not arbitrary or conventional, but eternal, and that consequently the Vedas convey unerring information in regard to unseen objects. This view he defends against the objections of the Naiyāyikas, insisting that the names, derived from those of certain sages, by which particular parts of the Vedas are designated, do not prove those sages to have been their authors, but merely their students ; while none of the names occurring in the Veda are those of temporal beings, but all denote some objects which have existed eternally. Some of these notions are further enforced in a passage from the summary of the Mīmāṃsā doctrine, given in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, which I have quoted in the Appendix (pp. 190-206). The writer first notices the Naiyāyika objections to the Mīmāṃsaka tenet that the Veda had no personal author, viz., (1) that any tradition to this effect must have been interrupted at the

past dissolution of the universe; (2) that it would be impossible to prove that *no one* had ever recollected any such author; (3) that the sentences of the Veda have the same character as all other sentences; (4) that the inference,—drawn from the present mode of transmitting the Vedas from teacher to pupil,—that the same mode of transmission must have gone on from eternity, breaks down by being equally applicable to any other book; (5) that the Veda is in fact ascribed to a personal author in a passage of the book itself; (6) that sound is not eternal, and that when we recognize letters as the *same* we have heard before, this does not prove their identity or eternity, but is merely a recognition of them as belonging to the same *species* as other letters we have heard before; (7) that though Paramēśvara (God) is naturally incorporeal, he may have assumed a body in order to reveal the Veda, etc. The writer then states the Mīmāṃsaka answers to these arguments thus: What does this alleged ‘production by a personal author’ (*pauruṣheyatva*) mean? The Veda, if supposed to be so produced, cannot derive its authority (*a*) from inference (or reasoning), as fallible books employ the same process. Nor will it suffice to say (*b*) that it derives its authority from its truth: for the Veda is defined to be a book *which proves that which can be proved in no other way*. And even if Paramēśvara (God) were to assume a body, he would not, *in that state of limitation*, have any access to supernatural knowledge. Further, the fact that different *śākhās* or recensions of the Vedas are called after the names of particular sages, proves no more than that these recensions were *studied* by those sages, and affords

no ground for questioning the eternity of the Vedas,—an eternity which is proved by the fact of our recognizing letters when we meet with them. These letters are the very identical letters we had heard before, for there is no evidence to show either that letters of the same sort (G's, for instance) are numerically different from each other, or that they are *generic terms, denoting a species*. The apparent differences which are observable in the same letter, result merely from the particular characteristics of the persons who utter it, and do not affect its identity. This is followed by further reasoning in support of the same general view; and the writer then arrives at the conclusion, which he seems to himself to have triumphantly established, that the Veda is underived and authoritative. After noticing the different grounds on which authoritativeness, and non-authoritativeness, respectively, are rested by the principal Indian schools, the Naiyāyika is next introduced as raising another difficulty, as to the self-dependent (or self-derived) authority which is claimed for the Veda. What, he asks, is the source of this self-dependent authority? He gives four conceivable definitions of what it may be supposed to mean, and shows to his own satisfaction that they are all untenable. The Mīmāṃsaka then interposes, and brings forward a fifth definition. His conclusion appears to be that authoritativeness springs from the constituents or totality of knowledge.

The question of the effect produced on the Vedas by the dissolutions of the world, which is raised among the other Naiyāyika objections above quoted, without receiving any solution in the Mīmāṃsaka reply, is noticed

in some extracts from Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya and its commentators, which have been adduced by Prof. Goldstücker in the Preface to his Mānava-kalpa Sūtra, and have been partly reprinted in my Appendix (pp. 228 ff.). It is admitted by Patanjali, that, though the sense of the Veda is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same, and that this difference is exhibited in the different recensions of the Kāthakas and other schools. Patanjali himself does not say what is the cause of this alteration in the order of the letters; but his commentator, Kaiyyata, states that the order was disturbed during the great dissolutions, etc., and had to be restored (though with variations) by the eminent science of the rishis. Kullūka and Sankara, on the other hand (see pp. 5, 72, and 213, note 10), maintain that the Veda was preserved (*unaltered*, I presume) in the memory of Brahmā during the periods of dissolution.

In the extract given in pp. 65-73 from his commentary on the Brahma Sūtras,¹ Śankara, while he follows the author of those Sūtras, and Jaimini, in basing the authority of the Vedas on the eternity of sound, finds it necessary to meet an objection that, as the gods mentioned in the Veda had confessedly an origin in time, the words which designate those gods cannot be eternal, but must have originated coevally with the created objects which they denote, since eternal words could not have an eternal connection with non-eternal objects. This difficulty he tries to overcome (by tacitly *abandoning the ground taken by Jaimini, that the Veda contains*

¹ My attention was drawn to this passage by an unpublished treatise by the Rev. Prof. Banerjea, of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

*no references to non-eternal objects, and) by asserting that the eternal connection of words is not with individual objects, but with the species to which these objects belong, and that Indra and the other gods are proved by the Veda to belong to species. Śankara then goes on to assert, on the authority of Brahma Sūtra, i. 3, 28, fortified by various texts from the Vedas and the smṛitis, that the gods and the world generally are produced (though not in the sense of evolution out of a material cause) from the word of the Vedas (see p. 4, and note, pp. 4 and 5) in the form of *śphoṭa*. This last term will be explained below. It should also be noticed here that in another place (i. 1, 3) the Brahma Sūtras (see note 39, in pp. 51, 52) declare that Brahma was the source of the Veda, and that, on this foundation, Śankara argues that Brahma must be omniscient. If, however, the Vedas are eternal and apparently self-existent, it is not easy to see how they can be at the same time the work of Brahma, and a proof of his omniscience.²*

In opposition to the tenets of the Mīmāṃsakas, who hold the eternity (or the eternal self-existence) of the Veda, and to the kindred dogmas of the Vedānta, as just expounded, Gotama, the author of the Nyāya aphorisms, denies (Section viii. pp. 73-81) the eternity of sound; and after vindicating the Veda from the charges of falsehood, self-contradiction, and tautology, deduces its authority from the authority of the wise, or competent,

² It is true that Sankara gives an alternative interpretation of this Sūtra, viz., that it may be understood as meaning that the Vedas, etc., are "the source, or cause, or proof of Him, *i. e.*, by enabling us rightly to understand his nature." (*Yonih kūṛaṇam pramāṇam asya Brahmano yathāvat svarūpādhiḡam*). But the explanation given in the text is the first given, and it is not repudiated by Śankara. See Ballantyne's Aphorisms of the Vedānta, pp. 7-10

person who was its author. It does not clearly appear from Gotama's aphorism who the wise person was whom he regards as the maker of the Veda. If he did not believe in a God, (see Appendix, note v. p. 216), he must have regarded the rishis as its authors. The later Naiyāyika writers, however, as the author of the *Tarka Sangraha* (Appendix, p. 209) and of the *Kusumānjali* (Appendix, pp. 211-216) clearly refer the Veda to Īśvara (God) as its framer. Udayana, the author of the *Kusumānjali*, controverts the opinion that the existence of the Veda from eternity can be proved by a continuous tradition, as such a tradition must, he says, have been interrupted at the dissolution of the world, which preceded the existing creation (see above, pp. xi. xiii.) He, therefore (as explained by his commentator), infers an eternal and omniscient author of the Veda; asserting that the Veda is *pauruṣheya*, or derived from a personal author; that many of its own texts imply this; and that the appellations given to its particular *śākhās* or recensions, are derived from the names of those sages whose persons were assumed by Īśvara, when he uttered them at the creation.

Kapila, the author of the *Sāṅkhya Aphorisms* (pp. 81-86), agrees with the *Nyāya* aphorist in denying the eternity of the Veda, but, in conformity with his own principles, differs from Gotama in denying its derivation from a personal (*i.e.*, here, a *divine*) author, because there was no person (*i.e.*, as his commentator explains, no God) to make it. Vishnu, the chief of liberated beings, though omniscient, could not, he argues, have made the Veda, owing to his impassive-

ness, and no other person could have done so from want of omniscience. And even if the Veda have been uttered by the primeval Purusha, it cannot be called his work, as it was breathed forth by him unconsciously. (Compare the passage from the Vedāntist Śankara, pp. 104 and 105.) Kapila agrees with Jaimini in ascribing a self-demonstrating power to the Veda, and differs from the Naiyāyikas in not deriving its authority from correct knowledge possessed by an utterer. He proceeds to controvert the existence of such a thing as *sphoṭa* (a modification of sound which is assumed by the Mīmāṃsakas, and described as single, indivisible, distinct from individual letters, existing in the form of words, and constituting a whole), and to deny the eternity of sound.

In the ninth Section (pp. 86-107) some short reasonings in support of the supernatural origin of the Veda are quoted from the Nyāya-mālā-vistara (a condensed account of the Mīmāṃsa system) and from the Vedārtha-prakāśa (the commentary on the Taittirīya Yajur-veda). The arguments in both passages (pp. 86-89) are to the same effect, and contain nothing that has not been already in substance anticipated in the preceding summaries of the Mīmāṃsa doctrine. In reference to their argument that no author of the Veda is remembered, I have noticed here that the supposition which an objector might urge, that the rishis, the acknowledged *utterers* of the hymns, might also have been their *authors*, is guarded against by the tenet, elsewhere maintained by Indian writers, that the rishis were merely *seers of the pre-existing sacred texts*. Some further passages are next

adduced (pp. 90-96) from the Nyāya-mālā-vistara, from Kullūka's commentary on Manu, and from Śankara Achāryya, to show that a distinct line of demarcation is drawn by the scholastic writers between the Veda, on the one hand, and all other classes of Indian scriptures, such as the smṛiti (including the Institutes of Manu, the Puranas, and Itihāsas, etc.), on the other, the *first* being regarded as an independent and infallible director, while the *others* are (in theory) held to be only authoritative guides, in so far as they are founded on, and coincide with, the Veda. The practical effect of this distinction is, however, much lessened by the fact that the ancient sages (such as Manu), the authors of the smṛitis, are looked upon as having had access to Vedic texts now no longer extant, as having held communion with the gods, and as having enjoyed a clearness of intuition into divine mysteries which is denied to later mortals. Śankara, however (as shewn in pp. 97-99), does not regard all the ancients as having possessed this infallible insight into truth, but exerts all his ingenuity to explain away the claims (though sanctioned by an Upanishad) of Kapila, who was not orthodox, according to his Vedantic standard, to rank as an authority. In his depreciation of Kapila, however, Śankara is opposed to the Bhāgavata Purana and other standard works (pp. 99-100). I then proceed to observe (pp. 101-103) that though in ancient times the authors of the different philosophical systems (*Darśanas*) no doubt asserted the truth of their respective opinions, in opposition to all the antagonistic systems, yet in modern times the superior orthodoxy of the Vedānta appears to be

generally recognized; while the authors of the other systems are regarded, *e.g.*, by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, as, amid all their diversities, having in view, as their ultimate scope, the support of the Vedāntic theory. The same view, in substance, is taken by Vijnāna Bhixu, the commentator on the Sāṅkhya Sūtras, who (Appendix, pp. 217-226) maintains that Kapila's system, though atheistic, is not irreconcilable with the Vedānta and other theistic schools, as its denial of an Īśvara (God) is only practical, or regulative, and merely enforced in order to withdraw men from the too earnest contemplation of an eternal and perfect Deity, which would impede their study of the distinction between matter and spirit. To teach men this discrimination as the great means of attaining final liberation, is one of the two main objects, and strong points, of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, and here it is authoritative; while its atheism is admitted to be its weak side, and on this subject it has no authority. Vijnāna Bhixu goes on to say that it is even supposable that theistic systems, in order to prevent sinners from attaining knowledge, may lay down doctrines partially opposed to the Vedas; and that though in these portions they are erroneous, they will still possess authority in the portions conformable to the *śruti* and *smṛiti*. He then quotes a passage from the Padma Purāṇa, in which the god Siva tells his consort Pārvatī that the Vaiśeṣhika, the Nyāya, the Sāṅkhya, the Purva-mīmāṃsā Darśanas, and the Vedāntic theory of illusion, are all systems infected by the dark or *tāmasa* principle, and consequently more or less unauthoritative. All theistic theories, however, are, as Vijnāna Bhixu

considers, authoritative, and free from error on their own special subject. And as respects the discrepancy between the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta, regarding the unity of Soul, he concludes that the former is not devoid of authority, as the apparent diversity of Souls is acknowledged by the Vedānta, and the discriminative knowledge which the Sāṅkhya teaches to the embodied soul is an instrument of liberation; and thus the two varying doctrines, if regarded as the one practical (or regulative), and the other real (or transcendental), will not be contradictory.

After thus deviating into the Appendix, I revert to the close of Section ninth (pp. 103-109) where it is shown that the distinction drawn by the Indian commentators between the superhuman Veda and its human appendages, the Kalpa Sūtras, etc., as well as the *smṛitis*, is not borne out by certain texts which I have cited from the Vṛihad Āraṇyaka and Mundaka Upanishads. These two ancient treatises seem to place all the different sorts of *śāstras* or scriptures (including the four Vedas) in one and the same class, the former speaking of them all promiscuously as being the breath of Brahma, while the latter describes them all (except the Upanishads) as being parts of the "inferior science," in opposition to the "superior science," or knowledge of Brahma. In the same spirit as the Mundaka, the Chhandogya Upanishad also, as quoted in the Appendix (pp. 186, 187), includes the four Vedas in the same list with a variety of miscellaneous *śāstras* (which Nārada has studied without getting beyond the confines of exoteric knowledge), and never intimates (unless it be by placing

them at the head of the list) that the former can claim any superiority over the other works with which they are associated.

In Section tenth (pp. 107-113) the arguments in support of the Veda, adduced in the philosophical systems, and by the various commentators, as above summarised, are recapitulated, and some remarks are made on these reasonings. My observations are chiefly directed to shew that the rishis are proved by the contents of the hymns to have been their real authors; and that numerous events which have occurred *in time*, are undoubtedly mentioned in the Vedas. This, as we have seen (above, p. xiv.) is admitted by Śankara.

The Second Chapter (pp. 114-183) exhibits the opinions of the rishis in regard to the origin of the Vedic hymns. It is intended to shew in detail that, though some at least of the rishis appear to have imagined themselves to be inspired by the gods in the expression of their religious emotions and ideas, they at the same time regarded the hymns as their own compositions, or the compositions of their forefathers, distinguishing between them as new and old, and describing their own authorship in terms which could only have been dictated by a consciousness of its reality. The first, second, and third Sections (pp. 116-140) contain a collection of passages from the Rig-veda in which a distinction is drawn (1) between the rishis as ancient and modern, and (2) between the hymns as older and more recent; and in which (3) the rishis describe themselves as the *makers*, *fabricators*, or *generators* of the hymns; with some additional texts in

which such authorship appears to be implied, though it is not expressed. Section fourth (pp. 141-164) contains a variety of passages from the same Veda, in which (1) a superhuman character or supernatural faculties are ascribed to the earlier rishis; (2) the idea is expressed that the praises and ceremonies of the rishis were suggested and directed by the gods in general, or, in particular, by the goddess of speech, or by some other or others of the different deities of the Vedic pantheon. To illustrate, and render more intelligible and probable, the opinions which I have ascribed to the old Indian rishis, regarding their own inspiration, I have quoted (in the same Section, pp. 165-171) a number of passages from Hesiod and Homer to shew that the early Greek bards entertained a similar belief. I then advert (pp. 170-171) to the remarkable divergence between the later religious histories of Greece and of India. I next enquire briefly (in pp. 171-172) in what way we can reconcile the apparently conflicting ideas of the rishis on the subject of the hymns, considered, on the one hand, as their own productions, and, on the other, as inspired by the gods. Then follow (pp. 172-176) some further texts from the Rig-veda, in which a mystical, magical, or supernatural efficacy is ascribed to the hymns. These are succeeded (pp. 177-181) by a few quotations from the same Veda, in which the authors complain of their own ignorance; and by a reference to the contrast between these humble confessions, and the proud pretensions set up by later theologians in behalf of the Veda, and its capability of imparting universal knowledge. The ideas of the rishis regarding their own

inspiration differ widely from the conceptions of later theorists; for while the former looked upon the gods, who were confessedly *mere created beings*, as the sources of supernal illumination, the latter either regard the Veda as eternal, or refer it to the eternal Brahma, or Īśvara, as its author. The fifth and last Section (pp. 181-183) adduces some texts from the Śvetāśvatara, Mundaka and Chhāndogya Upanishads, which show the opinions of the writers regarding their own inspiration, or that of their predecessors.

I have stated above that my primary design in the composition of this work, has been to aid the researches of Indian students and their European preceptors. But the volume, with all its imperfections, may perhaps also possess a certain interest for the divine and the philosopher, as furnishing a few documents to illustrate the course of theological opinion in a sphere far removed from the ordinary observation of the European student,—a course which, quite independently of the merits of the different tenets involved in the enquiry, will, I think, be found to present a remarkable parallel in various respects to that which is traceable in the history of those religious systems with which we are most familiar. In both cases we find that a primitive age of ardent emotion, of simple faith, and of unarticulated beliefs, was succeeded by a period of criticism and speculation, when the floating materials handed down by preceding generations were compared, classified, reconciled, developed into their consequences, and elaborated into a variety of scholastic systems.

For an account of the printed works or MSS. from which my Sanskrit extracts have been made, I may refer to the Prefaces of the First and Second Parts. And sources not there mentioned, are, I think, specified in the body of the work.

In regard to the texts quoted from the Rig-veda, I have derived the same sort of assistance from the French version of M. Langlois, which has been acknowledged in the Preface to the Second Part, p. vi. I am also indebted for some of the Vedic texts to Bochtlingk and Roth's Lexicon.

In this volume, as the reader will perceive, the Sanskrit extracts are entirely printed in the Roman character. I have no abstract preference for this mode of presenting Indian words; but its adoption has saved me much labour in the way of transcription, and it has also the advantage of being somewhat more economical.

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CORRECTIONS AND EMENDATIONS.

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- Page 32, Line 23, *for* "Brahmarāṭi," *read* "Brahmarāṭa "
- .. 57. .. 7, .. " *paṇḍapadyam*," *read* " *paṇḍapadyam* "
- .. 70, .. 27, .. " *senapāti*," *read* " *senapati* "
- .. 67. .. 27, .. " employs the words," *read* " employs the words (ख ११) "
- .. 102, .. 13, .. " *Brahma*," *read* " *Brahmā* "
- .. 112, .. 33, .. " *supposed*," *read* " *imagined*."
- .. 126, .. 26, .. " *pramātha* [२]," *read* " *pramātha* " ¹
- .. 145, .. 35, .. " *durbhṛgah-dhṛava*," *read* " *durbhṛgah ... dhṛava*."
- .. 153, .. 34, .. " *interests*," *read* " *intellects*." "
- .. 162, .. 17, .. " *A. V.*" *read* " *R. V.* "
- .. 197, .. 36, .. " *recessus*," *read* " *regressus*."

¹ This, I find, is a correct Vedic form. See Wilson's Sanskrit Grammar, 2nd ed p. 464.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

PART THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

OPINIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN, DIVISION, INSPIRATION, AND
AUTHORITY OF THE VEDAS, HELD BY INDIAN AUTHORS SUB-
SEQUENT TO THE COLLECTION OF THE HYMNS.

IN the preceding volume, I have furnished a general account of the ancient Indian writings, which are comprehended under the designation of Veda or Śruti. These works, which, as we have seen, constitute the earliest literature of the Hindus, are broadly divisible into two classes : (1) The Mantras or hymns, in which the praises of the gods are sung and their blessing is invoked ; (2) the Brahmanas, which embrace both the liturgical institutes in which the ceremonial application of those hymns is prescribed, and the Āranyakas and Upanishads, or theological treatises in which the spiritual aspirations which were gradually developed in the minds of the more devout of the Indian sages are preserved. It is, therefore, clear that the hymns constitute the original and, in some respects, the most essential portion of the Veda ; that the Brahmanas arose out of the hymns, and are subservient to their employment for the purposes of worship ; while the Upanishads give expression to ideas of a spiritual and mystical character which, though to some extent discoverable in the hymns and in the older portion of the Brahmanas, are much further matured, and assume a more exclusive importance, in these later treatises.

I content myself at present with referring the reader who

desires to obtain a fuller idea of the nature of the hymns, and of the attributes there ascribed to the divinities to whom they are addressed, to the late Professor H. II. Wilson's translation of the earlier portion of the Rig-veda, and to the dissertation which he has prefixed to the first volume. At a later stage of this work, I hope to return to the mythology of the Veda, and to compare the conceptions which the rishis entertained of the different objects of their worship, with those representations of the deities who bore the same names, which occur in Indian writings of a later date, whether mythological or theological.

The task to which I propose in the meantime to devote myself, is to supply some account of the opinions entertained by Hindu writers, ancient and modern, in regard to the origin and authority of the Vedas. With this view I intend to collect from the Indian writings of the later Vedic era (the Brahmanas and Upanishads) as well as from the books, whether popular or scientific, of the post-vedic period (the Puranas, the Itihasas, the institutes of Manu, the commentaries on the Vedas, the aphorisms of the Darśanas, or systems of philosophy, and their commentators) such passages as refer to the origin, division, inspiration, and authority of the Vedas, and to compare the opinions there set forth with the ideas entertained on some of these subjects by the writers of the hymns themselves, as discoverable from numerous passages in their own compositions.

The mythical accounts which are given of the origin of the Vedas are mutually conflicting. In some passages they are said to have sprung from fire, air, and the sun. In other texts they are said to have been produced by the creator Brahmā from his different mouths, or by the intervention of the Gāyatrī, or to have sprung from the goddess Sarasvatī. I proceed to adduce these several passages.

SECT. I.—*Elemental origin of the Vedas according to the Brahmanas, Upanishads, and Institutes of Manu.*

I commence with a passage from the Śatapatha Brahmana, xi. 5, 8, 1 ff. *Prajāpatir vā idam agre āsīt | Eka eva so 'kāmayata syām prajāyeya iti | So 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | tasmāch chrāntāt tepānāt trayo lokā asṛijyanta | pṛithivy antarīkṣam dyauh | sa imāṁs trīṇ lokān abhitatāpa | tebhyas taptēbhyas trīṇi jyotīṁshy ajāyanta agnir yo 'yam pavate sūryaḥ | sa imāni trīṇi jyotīṁshy abhitatāpa | tebhyas taptēbhyas trayo vedā ajāyanta agner ṛigvedo vāyor yajurvedaḥ sūryāt sāmavedaḥ | sa imāṁs trīṇ vedān abhitatāpa | tebhyas taptēbhyas trīṇi śukrāny ajāyanta bhūr ity ṛigvedād bhuvā iti yajurvedāt svar iti sāmavedāt | Tad ṛigvedenaiva hotram akurvata | yajurvedena ādhvaryavam sāmavedena udgītham yad eka trayyai vidyāyai śukraṁ tena brahmatvam uchchakrāma.* “Prajapati was formerly this universe [*i.e.* the sole existence]. Being alone, he desired, ‘may I be, may I become.’ He toiled, he performed austerity. From him, when he had so toiled, and performed austerity, three worlds were created,—earth, atmosphere, and sky. He brooded over [*i.e.* infused warmth into] these three worlds. From them, thus brooded over, three lights were produced,—fire, this which purifies (*i.e.* *parana*, or the air), and the sun. He brooded over these three lights. From them so brooded over, the three Vedas were produced,—the Rig-veda from fire, the Yajur-veda from air, and the Sāma-veda from the sun. He brooded over these three Vedas. From them so brooded over, three seeds [or essences] were produced,—*bhūr* from the Rig-veda, *bhuvāḥ* from the Yajur-veda, and *sva* from the Sāma-veda. Hence, with the Rig-veda they performed the function of the hotṛi; with the Yajur-veda, the office of the adhvaryu; with the Sāma-veda, the duty of the udgatri; while the function of the brahman arose through the essence of the triple science [*i.e.* the three Vedas combined].”

Chhāndogya Upanishad.—A similar passage (already quoted

in Part Second, p. 200) occurs in the Chhândogya Upanishad (p. 288 of Dr. Rœr's Ed.) *Prajāpatiṛ lokān abhyatapat | teshāṃ tapyamānānāṃ rasān prābrīhad agniṃ pṛithivyā vāyum antarixād ādityaṃ divaḥ | sa etās tisro devatā abhyatapat | tāsāṃ tapyamānānāṃ rasān prābrīhad agner ṛicho vāyor yajūṃshi sāma ādityāt | sa etāṃ trayīm vidyām abhyatapat | tasyās tapyamānāyā rasān prābrīhad bhūr iti ṛigbhyo bhuvar iti yajurbhyaḥ svar iti sāmabhyaḥ*. "Prajāpati brooded over the worlds, and from them so brooded over, he drew forth their essences, viz., fire from the earth, air from the atmosphere, and the sun from the sky. He brooded over these three deities, and from them, so brooded over, he drew forth their essences,—from fire the Rik verses, from air the Yajush verses, and from the sun the Sāma verses. He then brooded over this triple science, and from it, so brooded over, he drew forth the essences,—from Rik verses the syllable *bhūr*, from Yajush verses *bhuvaḥ*, and from Sāma verses *svaḥ*."¹

Manu.—The same origin is assigned to the three Vedas in the following verses, from the account of the creation in *Manu* i. 21—23, where the idea is no doubt borrowed from the *Brahmanas*:—*Sarvēśhāntu sa nāmāni karmāṇiḥcha pṛithak pṛithak | Veda-śabdebhya evādaḥ pṛithak saṁsthāścha nirmame | Karmātmanāṇiḥcha devānāṃ so 'srījat prāninām prabhuḥ | sādhyānāṇiḥcha gaṇaṃ sūxmaṃ yajñāṇiḥchaiva sanātanaṃ | Agni-vāyuvarebhyastu trayam brahma sanātanaṃ | dudoha yajñasiddhyartham ṛig-yajur-sāma-laxaṇam*. "He [*Brahmā*] in the beginning fashioned from the words of the Veda² the names, functions,

¹ Passages to the same effect are to be found in the *Aitareya* (v. 32—34) and *Kaushītaki Brahmanas*. The latter is translated by Weber in his *Ind. Stud.* ii. 303, ff.

² *Kullūka* wrongly explains this to mean, "Having understood them from the words of the Veda (*Veda-śabdebhya eva avagamyā*)."³ It is similarly said in the *Vishṇu Pur.* i. 5, 58, ff. (p. 43 of Wilson's Trans.) *Nāma rūpaṇiḥcha bhūtānāṃ kṛitṛyānāṇiḥcha pravarttanam | Veda-śabdebhya evādaḥ devānāṇiḥcha chakūra saḥ | ṛishināṃ nūmadheyāni yathā-veda-śrutāni vai | yathā-niyoga-yogyāni sarvēśham api so 'karot*. "In the beginning he ordained, from the words of the Veda, the names, forms, and functions of the gods and other creatures. He also assigned the names and the respective offices of all the *ṛishis*, as handed down by the Vedas." The same idea is repeated in

and conditions of all [creatures]. That Lord also created the subtile order of active and living deities, and of Sādhyas, and eternal sacrifice. And in order to the performance of sacrifice, he drew forth from fire, from air, and from the sun, the triple eternal Veda, distinguished as Rik, Yajush, and Sāman."

Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the commentator, annotates thus on this passage :—*Sanātanaṁ nityam | vedāpauruṣheyatra-paxo Manor abhimateḥ | pūrva-kalpe ye vedās te eva Paramātma-mūrtter Brahmanāḥ sarvajñasya smṛity-ārūḍhāḥ | tān eva kalpādāv agni-rāyu-ravibhya āchakarsha | srautaścha ayam artho na śaṅkanīyaḥ | tathācha śrutih | 'agner ṛigecco vāyor yajurveda ādityāt sāmaveda' iti.* "The word *sanātana* means 'eternally pre-existing.' The doctrine of the superhuman origin of the Vedas is maintained by Manu. The same Vedas which [existed] in the previous mundane era (*Kalpa*) were preserved in the memory of the omniscient Brahmnā, who was one with the supreme spirit. It was those same Vedas that, in the beginning of the [present] *Kalpa*, he drew forth from fire, air, and the sun : and this dogma which is founded upon the Veda is not to be questioned, for the Veda says, 'The Rig-veda comes from fire, the Yajur-veda from air, and the Sāma-veda from the sun.'"

Another commentator on Manu, Medhātithi, explains this passage in a more rationalistic fashion, "by remarking that the

the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 8,533 :—*Rishayoḥ tapasā vedīm adhyaishanta divā-nisam | Anādinidhanā vidyā vāg utsṛishṭā svayambhuvā | Adau vedamayī divyā yataḥ sarvāḥ pravṛittayaḥ | Rishirñā nāmudheyāni yāścha vedeshu spṛishṭayaḥ | Nanūrupaṅcha bhūtānām karmānūṅcha pravarttayan [pravarttanam ?] | Vedaśubdebhya evādaū nirmīmīte sa īśvaraḥ.* "Through devotion the rishis studied the Vedas both day and night. In the beginning, wisdom, without beginning or end, divine speech, formed of the Vedas, was sent forth by Svayambhū [the self-existent] : from her all activities [are derived]. It is from the words of the Veda that that Lord in the beginning frames the names of the rishis, the creations which are [recorded?] in the Vedas, the various forms of beings, and species of works." In his introductory verses, Mādhyama, the author of the Vedārtha-prakāśa, or Commentary on the Taittirīya Sanhitā, thus addresses Mahādeva :—*Yasya nīvasitaṁ vedā yo vedebhyo 'kṣhilaṁ jagat | Nirmame tam ahaṁ vande vidyātīrtham Maheśvaram.* "I reverence Mahādeva, the hallowed abode of sacred knowledge, whose breath the Vedas are, and who from the Vedas formed the whole universe." We shall meet this idea again further on.

Rig-veda opens with a hymn to fire, and the Yajur-veda with one in which air is mentioned.”—Colebr. Misc. Ess. i. p. 11, note.

To the verses from Manu (i. 21—23) just cited, the following from the second book may be added, partly for the purpose of completing the parallel with the passages previously adduced from the Śatapatha Brahmana and the Chhândogya Upanishad ;—Manu ii. 76, ff. *Akārañchāpy ukārañcha makārañcha Prajāpatiḥ | Vedatrayād niraduhad bhūr-bhuvah-svar itīti cha |* 77. *Tribhya eva tu vedebhyaḥ pādām pādām adūduhat | tad ity ṛichō'syāḥ sāvitryāḥ parameshṭhī prajāpatiḥ | . . .* 81. *Oṃkārapūrvikās tisro mahāryāḥritayo 'vyayāḥ | Tripadā chaiva gāyatrī vijñeyaṁ brahmaṇo mukham.* 76. “Prajāpati also milked out of the three Vedas the letters *a*, *u*, and *m*, together with the words *bhūr*, *bhuvah*, and *svar*. 77. The same supreme Prajāpati also milked from each of the three Vedas one of the [three] lines of the text called *sāvitri* [or *gāyatrī*], beginning with the word *tad*.³ 81. The three great imperishable particles (*bhūr*, *bhuvah*, *svar*) preceded by *om*, and the *gāyatrī* of three lines, are to be regarded as the mouth of the Veda [or Brahma].”

SECT. II.—*Origin of the Vedas according to the Vishnu and Bhāgavata Puranas, the Vṛihad Āranyaka Upanishad, the Harivansa, the Mahābhārata, the Rig and Atharva Vedas ; eternity of the Veda ; miscellaneous statements regarding it.*

In the Vishnu and Bhāgavata Puranas we find a quite different tradition regarding the origin of the Vedas, which in these works are said to have been created by the four-faced Brahma from his several mouths. Thus the Vishnu Pur. says, i. 5, 48, ff. :—*Gāyatrañcha ṛichaśchaiva trivṛit-sāma-rathantaram | Agnishtomañcha yajñānām nirmame prathamād mukhāt | yajūṃṣi traishṭubham chhandah stomaṁ pañchadaśaṁ tathā | Vṛihat sāma tathokthañcha daxinād asṛjād mukhāt | sāmāni jagatichhandah stomaṁ sapṭadaśaṁ tathā | vairūpam atirātrañ-*

³ This text, Rig-veda iii. 62, 10, will be quoted in the sequel.

*cha paśchimād asṛjād mukhāt | ekaviṃśam atharvāṇam āptor-
yāmānam evacha | Anushtubhaṁ sa vairājam uttarād asṛjād
mukhāt.* “From his first mouth Brahma formed the *gayātra*,
the *ṛik* verses, the *trivṛit*, the *sāma-rathantara*. From his
southern mouth he created the *yajush* verses, the *trishṭubh*
metre, the *panchadaśa-stoma*, the *vṛihat-sāma*, and the *ukthas*.
From his western mouth he formed the *sāma* verses, the *jagatī*
metre, the *saptadaśa-stoma*, the *vairūpa*, and the *atirātra*.
From his northern mouth he framed the *ekaviṁśa*, the *atharvan*,
with the *anushtubh* and *vīrāj* metres.”⁴

In like manner it is said, but with variations, in the *Bhāga-
vata Purana* iii. 12, 34, and 37 ff. :—*Kadāchid dhyāyatuḥ srash-
tur vedū āsaṁś chaturmukhāt | kathaṁ sraxyāmyahaṁ lokān
samavetān yathā purā | . . . Ṛig-yajuh-sāmātharvākhyān vedān
pūrvādibhir mukhaiḥ | śāstram ijjāṁ stutistomam prāyaśchittam
vyadhāt kramāt.* “Once the Vedas sprang from the four-faced
creator, as he was meditating ‘how shall I create the aggregate
worlds as before?’ . . . He formed from his eastern and other
mouths the Vedas called *Rik*, *Yajush*, *Sāman*, and *Atharvan*,
together with praise, sacrifice, hymns, and expiation.” And in
verse 45 it is stated that the *ushṇih* metre issued from his hairs,
the *gāyatrī* from his skin, the *trishṭubh* from his flesh, the
anushtubh from his tendons, the *jagatī* from his bones.” (*Tas-
yoshnig āsīl lomebhyo gayātrīcha tracho vibhoḥ | trishṭup mān-
sāt snuto ’nushṭup jagaty asthnaḥ Prajāpateḥ.*)

Vṛihad Āranyaka.—According to the following passage of the
Vṛihad Āranyaka Upanishad (p. 455 of Rōer’s Ed. and p. 179
of Trans.=*Śatapatha Brahmana*, p. 1064) the Vedas, as well as
other śāstras are the breath of Brahma :—*Sa yathā ārdrendh-
āgner abhyākhitāt pṛithag dhūmā viniścharanti evaṁ vā are ’sya
mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛigvedo yajurvedaḥ sāma-
vedo ’tharvāṅgirasa itihāsaḥ purāṇaṁ vidyā upanishadaḥ ślokāḥ*

⁴ See Wilson’s Trans. p. 42. As it is sufficient for my purpose that certain parts
of the different Vedas are intended by the several terms employed in this passage,
I have left them all untranslated.

śutrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni asyaiva etāni sarvāṇi niśvasitāni. “As from a fire made of moist wood various modifications of smoke proceed, so is the breathing of this great Being the Rīg-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Atharvāṅgirasas, the Itihāsas, Puranas, science, the Upanishads, verses (*ślokas*), aphorisms, comments of different kinds—all these are his breathings.”⁵

It is curious that in this passage the Vedas appear to be classed in the same category with various other works, such as the Śūtras, from some at least of which (as we shall see further on), they are broadly distinguished by later writers, who regard the former (including the Brahmanas and Upanishads) as of superhuman origin, while this character is expressly denied to the latter, which are represented as *pauruṣheya*, or merely human compositions.

Harivaṁśa.—In the first section of the Harivaṁśa, v. 47, the creation of the Vedas by Brahmā is thus briefly alluded to:—*Rīcho yajūṁśhi sāmāni nirmame yajñasiddhaye | sādhyās tair ayajan derān ity evam anuśūṣṛma.* “In order to the accomplishment of sacrifice, he formed the Rik, Yajush, and Sāma verses: with these the Sādhyās worshipped the gods, as we have heard.”

The following is a more particular account of the same event given in another part of the same work; Harivaṁśa, verse 11,516:—*Tato 'sṛjād vai tripadām gāyatrīm vedamātaram | Akaroḥchaira chaturo vedān gāyatri-sambhavān.* After framing the world, Brahmā “next created the *gāyatrī* of three lines,

⁵ In another part of the same Upanishad (pp. 50—53 of Dr. Rōer's Ed.) Prajapati [identified with Death, or the Devourer] is said to have produced *vāc* (speech), and through her, together with Soul, to have created all things, including the Vedas:—*sa tayā vācā tena ātmanā idam sarvam asṛjata yad idam kiñcha rīcho yajūṁśhi sāmāni ohhandāsi yajñān prajāḥ paśūn.* “By that speech and that soul he created all things whatsoever, Rik, Yajush, and Sāma texts, metres, sacrifices, creatures, animals.” And in a subsequent text of the same work (p. 290) it is said:—*Trayo vedā eṣe eva | vīgeva rīg-vedo mano yajur-vedaḥ prāṇaḥ sāmā-vedaḥ.* “The three Vedas are [identifiable with] these three things [speech, mind, and life]. Speech is the Rīg-veda; mind the Yajur-veda; and life, the Sāma-veda.”

mother of the Vedas, and also the four Vedas which sprang from the *gōyatrī*."

A little further on we find this expanded into the following piece of mysticism, verse 11,665, ff. :—*Samāhita-manā Brahmā moxaprāptena hetunā | chandra-maṇḍala-saṁsthānāj jyotistejo mahat tadā | Praviśya hṛdayaṁ xipraṁ gāyatrīyā nayanāntare | Garbhasya sambhavo yaścha chaturdhā puruṣātmake | Brahma-tjomayo 'ryaktaḥ śāścato 'tha dhruvo 'ryayaḥ | na chendriya-guṇair yukto yuktas tejoguṇena cha | chandrāṁśu-vimala-prakhyo bhrājishṇur varṇa-saṁsthitaḥ | Netrābhyāṁ janayad deca ṛig-vedaṁ yajushā saha | sāmavedaṁcha jihvāgrād atharvāṇaṁcha mūrddhataḥ | Jātamātrāstu te vedāḥ xetraṁ vindanti tattca-taḥ | Tena vedatvam āpannā yasmād vindanti tatpadam | Te sṛjanti tadā vedā brahma pūrvaṁ sanātanam | Puruṣaṁ div-yarūpābhaṁ svaiḥ svair bhūvair manobhavaḥ*. "For the emancipation of the world, Brahmā, sunk in contemplation, issuing in a luminous form from the region of the moon, penetrated into the heart of Gāyatrī, entering between her eyes. From her there was then produced a quadruple being, lustrous as Brahmā, indistinct, and eternal, undecaying, devoid of bodily senses or qualities, distinguished by the attribute of brilliancy, pure as the rays of the moon, radiant, and embodied in letters. The god fashioned the Rig-veda, with the Yajush, from his eyes, the Sāma-veda from the tip of his tongue, and the Atharvan from his head. These Vedas, as soon as they are born, find a body (*xetra*). Hence they obtain their character of *Vedas*, because they *find* (*vindanti*) that abode. These Vedas then create the pre-existent eternal brahma (sacrifice or ceremonial), a being of celestial form, with their own mind-born qualities."

I extract another passage on the same subject from a later section of the same work, verses 12,425, ff. When the Supreme Being was intent on creating the universe, Hiranyagarbha, or Prajāpati, issued from his mouth, and was desired to divide himself,—a process which he was in great doubt how he should

effect. The text then proceeds:—*Iti chintayatas tasya om ity evotthitah svarah | sa bhumāv antarīxe cha nāke cha kṛitavān svanam | Tañchaivābhyasatas tasya manah-sāramayam punah | hṛidayād deva-devasya vashaṭkārah samutthitah | bhūmyantarīxa-nākānām bhūyah svaratmakāḥ parāḥ | mahāsmṛitimayāḥ punyā mahāryāhṛitayo 'bhavan | chhandasām pravaraḥ devī chaturvīṃśāxarā 'bhavat | Tatpadaṁ saṁsmaran divyam sāvitrīm akarot prabhuḥ | ṛik-sāmātharva-yajushaś chaturō bhagavān prabhuḥ | chakāra nikhilān vedān brahmayuktena karmanā.*

“While he was thus reflecting, the sound *om* issued from him, and resounded throughout the earth, atmosphere, and sky. While the God of gods was again and again repeating this, the essence of the mind, the *vashaṭkāra* proceeded from his heart. Next, the sacred *vyāhritis* (*bhūr, bhuvah, svar*) formed of the great *smṛiti*, the most excellent emblems of earth, atmosphere, and sky were produced. Then appeared the goddess, the most excellent of metres, with twenty-four syllables [the *gāyatrī*]. Reflecting on the divine text [beginning with] *tad*, the Lord formed the *sāvitrī*. He then produced all the Vedas, the Rik, Sāman, Atharvan, and Yajush, with their prayers and rites.” (See also the passage from the Bhāg. Pur. xii. 6, 37, ff., which will be quoted in a following section.)

Mahābhārata.—The Mahābhārata in one passage speaks of the goddess Sarasvatī as the mother of the Vedas. Śānti P. verse 12,920 :—*Vedānām mātaram paśya matsthām devīm Sarasvatīm.* “Behold Sarasvatī, mother of the Vedas, abiding in me.”

I will add here two passages, of a somewhat similar character, from the Rik and Atharva Sanhitās, though they ought, strictly speaking, to have been reserved for the next chapter.

Rig-veda.—In the 9th verse of the Purusha Sūkta (already quoted in Part First, pp. 7 and 8), the three Vedas are said to have been derived from the mystical victim Purusha. “From that universal sacrifice were produced the hymns called Rik and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajush.”

Atharva-veda.—In regard to the origin of two of the Vedas,

the Atharva-veda says, xix. 54, 3 :—*Kālād ṛichah samabhavan yajuh kālād ajāyata*. “From time the Rik verses sprang; the Yajush sprang from time.”⁶

Manu.—According to the verses in Manu, xii. 49, 50, quoted in Part First of this work, p. 18, the Vedas, with the other beings and objects named along with them, constitute the *second* manifestation of the *sattrā guṇa*, or pure principle; while Brahmā is placed in a higher rank, as one of the *first* manifestations of the same principle. The word Veda in this passage is explained by Kullūka of those “embodied deities, celebrated in the Itihāsas, who preside over the Vedas.” (*Vedābhimāninyāścha devatā vighrahavatya itihāsa-prasiddhāh*.)

Vishnu Purana.—At the end of Section 6 of the third book of the V. P. (p. 285 of Wilson's Trans.) we have the following assertion of the eternity of the Veda :—*Iti śākhāḥ prasaṅkhyātāḥ śākhābhedās tathaira cha | karttāraśchaiva śākhānām bheda hetus tathoditah | sarvamanvantareshchra śākhābhedāḥ samāḥ smṛitāḥ | Prajāpatyā śrutir nityā tadrikalpās tv ime devja*. “Thus the Śākhās, their divisions, their authors, and the cause of the division have been declared. In all the manvantaras the divisions of the Śākhās are recorded to be the same. The *śrutī* (Veda) derived from Prajāpati (Brahmā) is eternal; these, o Brahman, are only its modifications.”

In another passage of the same book, Vishnu is identified with the Vedas. Vish. Pur. iii. 3, 19 ff. (Wilson, p. 274) :—*Sa riṅg-mayaḥ sāmamayaḥ sa chātmā sa yajurmayaḥ | ṛig-yajuh-sāma-sārātmā sa evātmā śarīriṇām | sa bhidyate vedamayaḥ sa vedaṁ karoti bhedaḥ bahubhiḥ saśākhāḥ | śākhāpranētā sa samastāśākhā jñānasvarūpo bhagavān anantaḥ*. “He is composed of the Rik, of the Sāman, of the Yajush; he is the soul. Consisting of the essence of the Rik, Yajush, and Sāman, he is the soul of

⁶ The Vishnu Purana, 1, 2, 13 (Wilson's Trans. p. 9), says :—*Tad eva sarvam avatāḍ vyaktīvyaktasvarūpavat | Tathā puruṣarūpeṇa kālarūpeṇa cha sthitaṁ*. “This Brahma is all this universe, existing both as the indiscrete and the discrete; existing also in the form of *Puruṣa* and of *Kāla* (time).”

embodied spirits. Formed of the Veda, he is divided; he forms the Veda and its branches (*śākhās*) into many divisions. Framers of the *Śākhās*, he is also their entirety, the infinite lord, whose essence is knowledge."

SECT. III.—*Manu's conception of the dignity and authority of the Veda, with some statements of a different tenor from him and other writers.*

Manu employs the following honorific expressions in reference to the Vedas (xii. 94 ff.): — *Pitṛi-deva-manushyāṇāṃ vedaś chaxuḥ sanātanam | aśukyañchāprameyañcha vedu-śāstram iti sthitiḥ || Yā vedu-vāhyāḥ smṛituyo yāscha kāscha kudrīṣṭayaḥ | sarvās tā nishphalāḥ pretya tamoniṣṭhā hi tāḥ smṛitāḥ || Utpadyante chyavante cha yāny ato 'nyāni kānichit | Tāny arvāk-kālikatayā⁷ nishphalāny anṛitāni cha || Chāturvarnyaṃ trayo lokāś chatvāraś chāśramāḥ prithak | Bhūtam bhavāt bhaviṣyañcha sarvaṃ vedāt prasiddhyati || śabdaḥ sparśascha rūpañcha raso gandhaścha pañchamaḥ | vedād eva prasiddhyanti prasūti-guṇa-karmataḥ || Bibharti⁸ sarva-bhūtāni veda-śāstraṃ sanātanam | Tasmād etat param manye yaj jantor asya sādhanam || Saināpatyañcha rājyañcha daṇḍa-netṛitram eva cha | sarva-lokādhīpatyañcha veda-śāstra-vid arhati || Yathā jāta-balo vahnir dahyaty ādrān api drumān | tathā dahati vedajñāḥ karmajam dosham ātmanah | veda-śāstrārtha-tattvajño yatra tatrasrame vusun | Ihaiva loke tiṣṭhan sa brahmabhūyāyu kalpate.* "The Veda is the eternal eye of the patriarchs, of gods, and of men; it is beyond human power and comprehension;

⁷ *Dṛiṣṭārtha-vākyāni 'chaityavandanāt svargo bhavati' ity ādini yāni cha asat-tarka-mūlāni devatā-gūrevādi-nirākaraṇāt makāni veda-viruddhāni chārvāka-darśanāni*:—"That is, deductions from experience of the visible world; such doctrines as that 'heaven is attained by obeisance to a chaitya,' and similar Chārvāka tenets founded on false reasonings, contradicting the existence of the gods, and the efficacy of religious rites, and contrary to the Vedas."—Kullūka.

⁸ *Idānintanatvāt.* "From their modernness."—Kullūka.

⁹ *Havir agnau hūyate, so 'agnir ādityam upasarpati, tat sūryo rasmiḥ bhīr varshati, tenānnam bhavati, atheha bhūtānām utpatti-sthitiścheti havir jūyate iti brāhmaṇam.* "The oblation is cast into the fire; fire reaches the sun; the sun causes rain by his rays; thence food is produced; thus the oblation becomes the cause of the generation and maintenance of creatures; so says a Brahmana."—Kullūka.

this is a certain conclusion. Whatever traditions are apart from the Veda, and all heretical views, are fruitless in the next world, for they are declared to be founded on darkness. All other [books] external to the Veda, which arise and pass away, are worthless and false from their recentness of date. The system of the four castes, the three worlds, the four states of life, all that has been, now is, or shall be, is made manifest by the Veda. The objects of touch and taste, sound, form, and odour, as the fifth, are made known by the Veda, together with their products, qualities, and the actions they occasion. The eternal Veda supports all beings: hence I regard it as the principal instrument of well-being to this creature, man. Command of armies, royal authority, the administration of criminal justice, and the sovereignty of all worlds, he alone deserves who knows the Veda. As fire, when it has acquired force, burns up even green trees, so he who knows the Veda consumes the taint of his soul which has been contracted from works. He who comprehends the essential meaning of the Veda, in whatever order of life he may be, is prepared for absorption into Brahma, even while abiding in this lower world."

The following are some further miscellaneous passages of the same tenor, scattered throughout the Institutes (Manu ii. 10 ff.):—*Śrūtiṣu redo vijñeyo dharma-śāstrantu rai smṛitiḥ | te sarvārtheskṇ amīmāṃsye tūbhyāṃ dharmo hi nīrbabhau | 11. Yo 'vamanyeta te mūle hetu-śāstrāśrayād drijaḥ | sa sādhubhīr vakishkāryyo nāstiko vedanīndakāḥ | 13. . . . Dharmaṃ jijñāsa-mānānām pramāṇam paramaṃ śrutiḥ.* "By śruti is meant the Veda, and by smṛiti the institutes of law: the contents of these are not to be questioned by reason, since from them [a knowledge of] duty has shone forth. The Brahman who, relying on rationalistic treatises,¹⁰ shall condemn these two primary sources

¹⁰ This, however, must be read in conjunction with the precept in xii. 106, which declares:—*ārshaṃ dharmopadeśaṃśha veda-śāstrāvirodhinā | yas tarkenānusandhatte sa dharmam veda nūparah.* "He, and he only is acquainted with duty, who investigates the injunctions of the ṛishis, and the precepts of the smṛiti, by reasonings which do not contradict the Veda."

of knowledge, must be excommunicated by the virtuous as a sceptic and reviler of the Vedas. . . . 13. To those who are seeking a knowledge of duty, the *śruti* is the supreme authority.”

In the following passage, the necessity of a knowledge of Brahma is asserted, though the practice of ritual observances is also inculcated (vi. 82, ff.):—*Dhyānikam sarvam evaitad yad etad abhiśabditam | na hy anadhyātma-rit kaśchit kriyāphalam upāśnute | adhiyajñam brahma japed ādhidaivikam eva cha | ādhyatmikañcha satatam vedāntābhikṛitāñcha yat | Idam śaraṇam ajñānām idam eva vijānatām | idam anvichchhatām svargam idam ānantyam ichchhatām.* “All this which has been now declared is dependant on devout meditation: no one who is ignorant of the supreme spirit can reap the fruit of ceremonial acts. Let a man repeat texts relating to sacrifice, texts relating to deities, texts relating to the supreme spirit, and whatever is declared in the Vedānta. This [Veda] is the refuge of the ignorant, as well as of the understanding; it is the refuge of those who are seeking after paradise, as well as of those who are desiring infinity.”

The following text breathes a moral spirit, by representing purity of life as essential to the reception of benefit from religious observances (ii. 97):—*Vedās tyāgaścha yajñāścha niyamāścha tapāṃsi cha | na vipraduṣṭa-bhāvasya siddhiṃ gachhanti karchikṛit.* “The Vedas, almsgiving, sacrifices, observances, austerities, are ineffectual to a man of depraved disposition.”

The doctrine which may be drawn from the following lines does not seem so favourable to morality (xi. 261, ff.):—*Hatvā lokān apimāṇs trīn aśnann api yatastataḥ | Rīgvedaṃ dhārayan vipro naināḥ prāpnoti kiñchana | Rīksaṃhītām trīr abhyasya yajushāṃ vā samāhītāḥ | sāmānāṃ vā sarahasyānām sarvapāpāḥ pramuchyate | yathā mahā-hradam prāpya xiptam loṣṭam vinasyati | tathā duṣcharitāṃ sarvaṃ vede trivṛiti majjati.* “A Brahman who should destroy these three worlds, and eat food received from any quarter whatever, would incur no guilt if he retained in his memory the [whole] Rig-veda. Repeating thrice

with intent mind the sanhitā of the Rik, or the Yajush, or the Sāman, with the Upanishads, he is freed from all his sins. Just as a clod thrown into a great lake is dissolved when it touches the water, so does all sin sink in the triple Veda."

Considering the sacredness ascribed in the preceding passages to all the Vedas, the epithet applied to the Sāma-veda in the second of the following verses is remarkable (Manu iv. 123, ff.): *Sāmadhvanāṁ rigyajushī nādhīyīta kadāchana | redasyādhītya vā'py antam ānyakam adhītya cha | Rīgvedo deraduivatyo yajurvedastu mānushaḥ | Sāmavedaḥ smṛitaḥ pitryas tasmāt tasyāśuchir dhvaniḥ*. "Let no one read the Rik or the Yajush while the Sāman is sounding in his ears, or after he has read the conclusion of the Veda (*i.e.* the Vedānta) or an Ānyaka. The Rīg-veda has the gods for its deities, the Yajur-veda has men for its objects, the Sāma-veda has the pitris for its divinities, wherefore its sound is impure."

The scholiast Kullūka, however, will not allow that the Sāma-veda can be "really impure." "It has," he says, "only a semblance of impurity" (*tasmāt tasya āśuchir iva dhvaniḥ | na tv āśuchir eva*). In this remark he evinces the tendency, incident to many systematic theologians, to ignore all those features of the sacred text on which they are commenting which are at variance with their theories regarding its absolute perfection. As it was the opinion of his age that the Veda was eternal and divine, it was, he considered, impossible that impurity or any species of fault could be predicated of any of its parts; and every expression, even of the highest authorities, which contradicted this opinion, had to be explained away. I am not in a position to state how this notion of impurity came to be attached to the Sāma-veda. The passage perhaps proceeded from the adherents of some particular Vedic school adverse to the Sāma-veda; but its substance being found recorded in some earlier work, it was deemed of sufficient authority to find a place in the miscellaneous collection of precepts,—gathered no doubt from different quarters, and perhaps not always strictly con-

sistent with each other,—which make up the Manava-dharma-sūtra.

Vishnu Purana.—The following passage from the Vishnu Purana, at the close, ascribes the same character of impurity to the Sāma-veda, though on different grounds, Vish. Pur. ii. 11, 5 (Wilson, p. 235):—*Yā tu śaktiḥ parā Viṣṇor ṛig-yajuh-sāma-saṁjñitā | saishā trayī tapaty aṁho jagataścha hinasti yat | saiva Viṣṇuḥ sthitaḥ sthityāṁ jagataḥ pālanodyataḥ | ṛig-yajuh-sāma-bhūto 'ntaḥ savitur dṛiḷa tishṭhati | māsi māsi ravir yo yas tatra tatra hi sā parā | trayīmāyī Viṣṇu-śaktir acasthānāṁ karoti vai | Rikhaḥ tapanti pūrvāhne madhyāhne 'tha yajūṁshy atha | ṛikad-rathantarādīni sāmāny ahaḥ xaye ravau | aṅgam eṣhā trayī Viṣṇor ṛig-yajuh-sāma-saṁjñitā | Viṣṇu-śaktir avasthānam māsāditye karoti sā | na kevalaṁ ravau 'śaktir vaiṣṇavī sā trayīmāyī | Brahmā 'tha Puruṣo Rudraḥ trayam etat trayīmāyam | sargādāc ṛiṅmayo Brahmā sthitaḥ Viṣṇur yajurmayaḥ | Rudraḥ sāmamāyo 'ntāya tasmāt tasyāśuchir dhevāṇiḥ*. “The supreme energy of Vishnu, called the Rik, Yajush, and Sāman—this triad burns up sin and all things injurious to the world. During the continuance of the world, this triad exists as Vishnu, who is occupied in the preservation of the universe, and in the form of the Rik, Yajush, and Sāman, abides within the sun. That supreme energy of Vishnu, consisting of the triple Veda, dwells in the particular form of the sun, which presides over each month. The Rik verses shine in the morning sun, the Yajush verses in his meridian beams, and the Vrihad rathantara and other Sāma verses in his declining rays. This triple Veda is the body of Vishnu, and this his energy abides in the monthly sun. But this energy of Vishnu, formed of the triple Veda, does not reside in the sun alone; Brahmā, Purusha (Vishnu), and Rudra also constitute a triad formed of the triple Veda. At the creation, Brahmā is formed of the Rig-veda; during the continuance of the universe, Vishnu is composed of the Yajur-veda; and for the destruction of the worlds, Rudra is made up of the Sāma-veda; hence the sound of this Veda is impure.”

Vāyu Purana.—Other passages also may be found in works not reputed to be heretical, in which the Vedas, or particular parts of them, are not spoken of with the same degree of respect as they are by Manu. Thus the Vāyu Purana gives precedence to the Puranas over the Vedas in the order of creation (i. 56¹¹):—*Prathamaṁ sarva-sāstrāṇāṁ Purāṇaṁ Brahmanā smṛitam | anantaraṁcha raktrebhya vedās tasya vinissṛitāḥ*. “First of all the Sastras, the Purana was uttered by Brahmanā. Subsequently the Vedas issued from his mouths.”

The same Purana says further on in the same section (p. 50 of Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue):—*Īo ridyāc chaturō redān sāṅgopanishado drijaḥ | na chet purāṇaṁ saṁridyād naira sa syād vichakṣaṇaḥ | Itihāsa-purāṇābhyāṁ redān samuparīṇhayet | ribhety alpaśrutād vedo mām ayaṁ praharishyati*. “He who knows the four Vedas, with their supplements and Upanishads, is not really learned, unless he know also the Puranas. Let a man, therefore, complete the Vedas by adding the Itihasas and Puranas. The Veda is afraid of a man of little learning, lest he should treat it injuriously.”

Brahma-vaivartta Purana.—The Brahma-vaivartta Purana asserts in a yet more audacious manner its own superiority to the Veda (i. 48 ff.):—*Bharagan yat trayā prīṣṭaṁ jñātaṁ sarvam abhīpsitam | sārabhūtaṁ purāṇeṣu Brahma-vaivarttam uttamam | Purāṇopapurāṇānāṁ vedānām bhrama-bhañjanam*. “That about which, venerable sage, you have inquired, is all known by me, the essence of the Puranas, the pre-eminent Brahma-vaivartta, which refutes the errors of the Puranas and Upapuranas, and of the Vedas.” (Aufrecht's Cat. p. 21.)

In the following passage also, from the commencement of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, the Vedic hymns (though of a divine origin, would no doubt be allowed to them¹²) are at all events depre-

¹¹ P. 48 of Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

¹² In fact the following verses (4 and 6) occur in the second chapter of the same Muṇḍ. Up.:—4. *Agnir mūrdhā chakṛuḥ chandrasūryau diśaḥ śrotre vāg vierī-tāścha vedāḥ | vāyuh prāṇo hṛdayaṁ viśvam aśya padbhyāṁ prithivī hy eṣha sarva-*

ciated, by being classed among other works as part of the inferior science, in contrast to the Brahma-vidyā or knowledge of Brahma, the highest of all knowledge, which is expressly ascribed to Brahmā as its author:—1. *Brahmā devānām prathamah sambabhūra viśvasya karttā bhuvanasya goptā | sa brahmavidyām sarravidyāpratisṭhām Atharvāya jyeshṭhaputrāya prāha |* 2. *Atharvane yām pravadeṭa Brahmā Atharvā tām purovāch' Āṅgīre brahma-vidyām | sa Bhāradrājāya Satyavāhāya prāha Bhāradvājo 'ngirase parāraram |* 3. *Śaunako ha vai Mahāśālo 'ngirasaṁ vidhivad upapannah prapachcha | kasmin nu bhagaro viñjāte sarvam idaṁ vijñātam bhavatīti |* 4. *Tasmai sa hocācha | dve vidye reditarye iti ha sma yad brahmarido vadanti parā chaivāpara cha |* 5. *Patrāparā ṛigvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvavedaḥ śixā kulpo ryākaranaṁ niruktaṁ chhundo jyotisham iti | atha parā yayā tad araram adhigamyate.* “Brahmā was produced the first among the gods, maker of the universe, preserver of the world. He revealed to his eldest son Atharvan, the science of Brahmā, the support of all knowledge. 2. Atharvan of old declared to Angis this science, which Brahmā had unfolded to him; and Angis, in turn, explained it to Satyavāha, descendant of Bharadvāja, who delivered this traditional lore [or the higher and lower science] to Angiras. 3. Śaunaka, the great householder, approaching Angiras in due form, inquired, ‘What is that, O venerable sage, through the knowledge of which all this [universe] becomes known?’ 4. [Angiras] answered, ‘Two sciences are to be known—this is what the sages acquainted with Brahma declare—the superior and the inferior. 5. The inferior [consists of] the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Atharva-veda, accentuation, ritual,

bhūtāntarātma | . . . 6. Tasmād ṛichaḥ sūma yajūṁshi dīxū yajñāscha sarve kratao dazīṁścha | saṁvatsaraṁcha yajamūnāscha lokāḥ somo yatra pavate yatra sūryaḥ. “Agni is his [Brahma’s] head, the sun and moon are his eyes, the four points of the compass are his ears, the uttered Vedas are his voice, the air is his breath, the universe is his heart, the earth issued from his feet: he is the inner soul of all creatures. . . . From him came the Rik verses, the Sāman, the Yajush verses, initiatory rites, all oblations, sacrifices, and gifts, the year, the sacrificer, and the worlds where the moon and sun purify.”

grammar, commentary, prosody, and astronomy. The superior science is that by which the imperishable is comprehended.”

It is to be remarked that in this passage (verse 5) as in that already quoted above (p. 7) from the Vṛihad Āryanyaka Upanishad, the most essential parts of the Vedas, the sanhitās, are classed in the same category with the Kalpa or ceremonial institutes, and other works, from which they are separated by a broad line of demarcation in the works of later writers.

The following passage from the Kaṭha Upanishad (ii. 23) is of a somewhat similar tenor (p. 107 of Roër's ed. and p. 106 of Eng. trans.):—*Nāyam ātmā prarachanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena | yam craishu rṛnute tena labhyas tasyaisha ātmā rṛnute tanūm srām.* “This soul is not to be attained by tradition, nor by understanding, nor by much scripture. He is attainable by him whom he chooses. The soul chooses that man's body as his own.”

The scholiast interprets thus the first part of this text:—*Yadyapi durcījñeyo 'yam ātmā tathāpy upāyena surcījñeya eva ity āha nāyam ātmā prarachanena aneka-veda-sūkarāṇena labhyo jñeyo nāpi medhayā granthārtha-dhāraṇā-śaktyā na bahunā śrutena keśalena | kena tarhi labhya ity uchyate.* “Although this soul is difficult to know, still it may easily be known by the use of proper means. This is what [the author] proceeds to say. This soul is not to be attained, known, by tradition, by the acknowledgment of many Vedas; nor by understanding, by the power of recollecting the contents of books; nor by much scripture alone. By what, then, is it to be attained? This he declares.”

It is not necessary to follow the scholiast into the Vedantic explanation of the rest of the passage.¹³

¹³ See Prof. Müller's *Anc. Sans. Lit.* 1st ed. p. 320, and p. 109.

SECT. IV.—*Division of the Vedas, according to the Vishnu, Vāyu, and Bhāgavata Puranas, and the Mahābhārata.*

The Vishnu Purana gives the following account of the division of the Veda, described as having been originally but one, into four parts, iii. 2, 18 (see Wilson's Trans. p. 270):—*Kṛite yuge param̃ jñānam Kapilādi-svarūpa-dhṛik | dadāti sarva-bhūtānām sarva-bhūtaḥ rataḥ | chakracarṭi-srarūpcna Tretāyām api sa prabhuḥ | Dushtānāṃ nigrahaṃ kurvan paripātī jagat-trayam | Vedam chaṃ chaturbhedaṃ kṛtvā śākhā-śatair vibhuḥ | karoti bahulam bhūyo Vedaryāsa-svarūpa-dhṛik | vedāṃs tu drāpare vyasya, etc.* “In the Krita age, Vishnu, devoted to the welfare of all creatures, assumes the form of Kapila and others to confer upon them the highest knowledge. In the Tretā age, the Supreme Lord, in the form of a universal potentate, represses the violence of the wicked, and protects the three worlds. Assuming the form of Vyāsa, the all-pervading Being repeatedly divides the single Veda into four parts, and multiplies it by distributing it into hundreds of śākhās. Having thus divided the Vedas in the Dvāpara age,” etc.

This is repeated more at length in the following section (Vish. Pur. iii. 3, 4 ff.):—*Veda-drumasya Maitreya śākhābhedaḥ sahasraśaḥ | na śakyo vistaro raktuṃ samacpena sṛṃushra tam | Dvāpare Dvāpare Viṣṇur Vyāsarūpī mahāmune | Vedam ekam sa bahudhā kurute jagato hitaḥ | vīryam tejo balañchālpaṃ manushyānām acerya vai | hitāya sarva-bhūtānām veda-bhedān karoti saḥ | yayā sa kurute tanvā vedam chaṃ pṛithak prabhuḥ | Vedaryāsābhidhānā tu sā mūrtir Mudhuridevishah | . . . Ashtā-viñśati-kṛito vai vedā vyastā maharshibhiḥ | Vairasvate 'ntare tasmin Drāparesu punaḥ punaḥ.* “It is not possible, Maitreya, to describe in detail the tree of the Vedas with its thousand branches (śākhās); but listen to a summary. A friend to the world, Vishnu, in the form of Vyāsa, divides the single Veda into many parts. He does so for the good of all creatures, because he perceives the vigour, energy, and strength of men to

be now but limited. Vedavyāsa, in whose person he performs this division, is an impersonation of the enemy of Madhu (Vishnu). . . . Eight-and-twenty times in the Dvāpara ages of this Vaivasvata manvantara¹⁴ have the Vedas been divided by great sages." These sages are then enumerated, and Krishna Dvaipayana¹⁵ is the twenty-eighth.

The subject is resumed at the beginning of the next section (Vish. Pur. iii. 4, 1 fl.):—*Ādyaḥ vedāś chatushpādāḥ śata-sāhasra-sammitāḥ | Tato daśa-guṇāḥ kṛtsno yajño 'yaṁ sarva-kāma-dhuk | Tato 'tra matsuto Vyāso 'śhṭāriṇśatitame 'ntare | redam ekam chatushpādāṁ chaturdhā ryabhojat prabhuḥ | yathā tu tena vai ryastā Vedaryāścna dhīmatā | Vedās tathā samastais tair ryastā Vyāsais tathā mayā | tad anenaiva vedānāṁ śākhā-bhedān driḡottama | chaturyugeshu rachitān samasteshe aradhārāya | Krishna-draipāyanaṁ Vyāsam viddhī Nārāyaṇam prabhum | ko 'nyo hi bhucī Maitreya Mahābhārata-kṛd bharet | Tena ryastā yathā Vedā matputreṇa mahātmanā | Drāpare hy atra Maitreya tad me śṛṇu yathārthataḥ | Brahmanū chodito Vyāso vedān ryastum prachakrame | Atha śishyān sa jagrāha chaturō veda-pārugaṇ | Rīgveda-śrūvakam Pailāṁ jagrāha sa mahāmuniḥ | Vaiśampāyana-nāmānaṁ Yajurvedasya chāgrahīt | Jainīnīṁ sāma-vedasya tathairātharaveda-rit | Sumantus tasya śishyo 'bhūd Vedaryāsasya dhīmataḥ | Romaharshaṇa-nāmānam mahābuddhim mahāmuniṁ | Sūtaṁ jagrāha śishyaṁ sa itihāsa-purāṇajyotḥ.* "The original Veda, four-footed [or in four quarters] consisted of a hundred thousand verses. From it arose the entire system of sacrifice, of ten descriptions [or of tenfold

¹⁴ For an account of the Manvantaras, see the First Part of this work, pp. 18, 19.

¹⁵ Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 629, note) remarks:—"Vyasa signifies arrangement, and this signification had still retained its place in the recollection of the ancient recorders of the legend, who have formed from his name an irregular perfect, viz. *vievyāsa*." Lassen refers to two passages of the Mahābhārata in which the name is explained, viz. (i. 2417), *Vīryāsa vedān yasmāt sa tasmād Vyāsa iti smṛitah*. "He is called Vyasa because he divided the Veda." And (i. 4236) *Yo vyasya Vedānś chaturas tapasā bhagavān rishiḥ | Loke vyāsātram āpade kūrshnyat krishnatram eva cha*. "The divine sage (Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa) who, through intense devotion, divided the four Vedas, and so obtained in the world the title of Vyasa, and from his blackness, the name of Krishna."

efficacy?], and yielding all the objects of desire. Subsequently, in the twenty-eighth period, my son (it is Parāśara who is the speaker), the mighty Vyāsa divided into four parts the one four-quartered Veda. In the same way as the Vedas were divided by the wise Vyāsa, so had they been divided by all the [preceding] Vyāsas, including myself. And know that the sākhā divisions [formed] by him [were the same as those] formed in all the periods of four yugas. Learn, too, that Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was the lord Nārāyaṇa, for who else on earth could have composed the Mahābhārata? Hear now correctly how the Vedas were divided by him, my great-souled son, in this Dvāpara age. When, commanded by Brahmā, Vyāsa undertook to divide the Vedas, he took four disciples who had read through those books. The great muni took Paila as teacher of the Rik, Vaiśampāyana of the Yajush, and Jaimini of the Sāman, while Sumantu, skilled in the Atharvaveda, was also his disciple. He took, too, as his pupil for the Itihāsas and Puranas the great and intelligent muni, Sūta, called Romaharshana."

Vāyu Purana.—In the same way, and partly in the same words, the Vāyu Purana (Section lx.) represents the Vedas to have been divided in the Dvāpara age. It first describes how this was done by Manu in the Svāyambhūva, or first Manvantara, and then recounts how Vyāsa performed the same task in the existing seventh, or Vaivasvata Manvantara; and, no doubt, also in the Dvāpara age, though this is not expressly stated in regard to Vyāsa.

The following is an extract from this passage (as given in Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 54):—*Drāpare tu purāṇṛitte Manoh svāyambhūve 'ntare | Brahmā Manum uvāchedam vedāṃ vyasya mahāmate | Parivṛittāṃ yugaṃ tūta svalparīryā dvijātayaḥ | saṃvṛittā yugadoshena sarvañchaiva yathākramam | bhrashta-mānaṃ yāgavaśād alpaśishtaṃ hi dṛśyate | Daśa-sāhasra-bhāgena hy avaśishtaṃ kṛitād idam | vīryaṃ tejo balañchālpaṃ sarvañchaiva pranaśyati | rede vedā hi kūrjyāḥ syur mā bhūd veda-rināśanam | rede nāśam anuprāpte yajño nāśaṃ gamishyati |*

*yajñe nashte deva-nāśas tataḥ sarvam pranaśyati | Ādya vedas
chatushpādo śata-sāhasra-sammitaḥ | Punar dusa-guṇaḥ kritsno
yajño vai sarva-kāma-dhuk | Eram uktas tathety uktrā Manur
loka-hite rataḥ | vedam ekam chatus-pādām chaturdhā vyubhajat
prabhuḥ | Brahmano rachanāt tāta lokānām hita-kāmyayā | tad
aham varttamānena yushmākam reda-kalpanam | manvantareṇa
vacyāmi ryatitānām prakalpanam | pratyaṅena paroṣam vai tad
nibodhata sattamāḥ | Asmin yuge kṛito Vyāsaḥ pārāśaryaḥ pa-
rantapaḥ | Draupāyana iti khyāto Viṣṇor aṁśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
Brahmaṇā choditaḥ so 'smiṇ vedaṁ ryastum prachakrame | Atha
śiṣhyān sa jagrāha chaturō vedakāraṇāt | Jaiminiṅcha Suman-
tuṅcha Vaisampāyanam ca cha | Pailaṁ teshāṁ chaturthantu
pañchamaṁ Lomaharshaṇam. " In the former Dvāpara of the
Svāyambhuva Manvantara, Brahmā said to Manu, ' Divide the
Veda, O sage. The age is changed ; through its baneful influ-
ence the Brahmans have become feeble, and from the same cause
everything has been gradually corrupted, so that little [good] is
seen remaining. Only a ten-thousandth part is now left of the
vigour, fire, and energy of the Kṛita age, and everything
declines. Vedas must be made out of the one Veda, lest the
Veda be destroyed. The destruction of the Veda would involve
the destruction of sacrifice ; that again would occasion the anni-
hilation of the gods, and then everything would go to ruin.
The primeval Veda was four-footed [or consisted of four quar-
ters], and extended to one hundred thousand verses, while sacri-
fice was of ten sorts [or tenfold efficacy], and yielded every object
of desire.' Being thus addressed, Manu, the lord, devoted to
the good of the world, replied, ' Be it so,' and in conformity
with the command of Brahmā, divided the one four-quartered
Veda into four parts.¹⁶ I shall, therefore, narrate to you the
division of the Veda in the existing Manvantara ; from which
present division you, virtuous sages, can understand those remote*

¹⁶ The Maha Bhar. Santip. v. 13,678, says the Vedas were divided in the Svāyam-
bhuva Manvantara by Apāntaratamas, son of Sarasvatī. *Tena bhinnās tadā vedā
manoh svāyambhuvo 'ntare.*

arrangements of the same kind which were made in past Manvantaras. In this Yuga, the victorious son of Parāśara, who is called Dvaipāyana, and is celebrated as a portion of Vishnu, has been made the Vyāsa. In this [Yuga?], he, being commanded by Brahmā, began to divide the Vedas. For this purpose, he took four pupils, Jaimini, Sumantu, Vaiśampāyana, and Paila, and, as a fifth, Lomaharshana" [for the Puranas and Itihāsas, etc.]

Bhāgavata Purana.—It is in its Third Book, where the different Manvantaras are described, that the Vishnu Purana gives an account of the division of the Vedas. In the book of the Bhāgavata Purana, where the Manvantaras are enumerated, there is no corresponding allusion to the division of the Vedas. Towards the close of the Purana, however, in the sixth section of the twelfth book (verses 37 ff.) there is to be found what Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur. Pref. p. xxvii.) calls "a rather awkwardly introduced description of the arrangement of the Vedas and Puranas by Vyāsa," which is no doubt brought in here, to supply the omission which the original author, or some subsequent editor, had discovered to exist in the earlier part of the work.

The passage (as given in the Bombay lithographed edition) is as follows :—*Sūta urācha | samāhitātmano brahman Brahmaṇaḥ parameshthinaḥ | hṛid-ākāśād abhūd nādo rṛtirodhād vibhāryate | yad-upāsanayā brahman yogino malam ātmanaḥ | dravya-kriyā-kāraḥ kākhyāṁ dhātva yānti apānurbhavam | Tato 'bhūt trivṛd oṁkāro yo 'ryakta-prabharāḥ svarāt | yat tullīgam Bhagarato brahmaṇaḥ paramātmanaḥ | sṛjoti ya imaṁ sphoṭaṁ sūptaśrotre cha śūnyadṛik | yena vāg vyajate yasya ryaktir ākāśe ātmanaḥ | sradhāmno brahmaṇaḥ sāvād rāchakuḥ paramātmanaḥ | sa-sarva-mantropanishad-reda-rījaṁ sanātanam | tasya hyāsaṁ trayo varṇā a-kārādyā Bhṛigūdcāha | dhāryante yais trayo bhārā guṇā nāmārtha-rṛttayaḥ | tato 'xara-samāmnāyam aṣṛijad bhagarān ajaḥ | Antasthoshma-svara-sparśa-hrasva-dīrghādi-laxaṇam | tenāsau chaturō vedāṁs chāturbhīr vadanaḥ vibhuḥ | sa-ryākṛitikan sōmkārāṁs chāturotra-rīvaxayā | putrān adhyā-*

*payat tāmistu brahmarshkīn brahma-koridān | te tu dharmopa-
deshtārah śvaputrebhyaḥ samādīśan | te paramparayā prāptās
tattachchishkyaḥ dhṛita-rataih | chaturyugeshv atha ryastū drā-
parādan maharshibhiḥ | xīnāyushah xīnasattrān durmedhān
vīrya kālataḥ | cedān brahmarshayo ryasyan (sic) hṛidisthāch-
yuta-noditāḥ | Asminn apy antare brahman bhagarūn loka-bhā-
vanah | brahmeśadyaḥ lokapālair yāchito dharmā-guptaye |
Parāśarāt Satyaratyām aṁśānśa-kalayā ribhuh | aratīrno mahā-
bhāga cedān chakre chaturvidham | ṛig-atharva-yajur-sāmnām
rāśīn uddhṛitya vargaśah | chatasrah saṁhitās chakre mantrair
maṇiganū iva | tāsām sa chaturah śishyān upāhūya mahāmatih |
Ekaikām saṁhitām brahman ekaikasmā dadau ribhuh | Pailāya
saṁhitām ādyām bahṛichākhyaṁ urācha ha | Vaiśampāyana-
sañjāya nigad ākhyaṁ yajur-gaṇam | sāmnam Jaiminaye prāha
tathā chhandoga-saṁhitām | Atharvāṅgirasīm nāma sra-śishūya
Sumantare. “Sūta speaks: ‘From the sky of the supreme
Brahma’s heart, when he was plunged in meditation, there issued
a sound, which is perceived by the devout when they close their
organs of sense. By adoring this sound, devotees destroy the
soul’s threefold taint, extrinsic, inherent, and superhuman,¹⁷ and
become exempt from future birth. From this sound sprang the
triple *oṁkāra*, self-resplendent, unperceived in its production,
the emblem of the divine Brahma, the supreme spirit. He (the
supreme spirit) hears this sound (*sphoṭa*), though his ears be
closed and his senses inactive,—(this *sphoṭa* or *oṁkāra* ?) through
which speech is revealed, and of which a manifestation is made
in the firmament of the soul.¹⁸ This [*oṁkāra*] is the sensible*

¹⁷ *Dravya-kriyā-kūṛaka*, which the scholiast interprets as answering to *adhibhūta*, *ādhyātma*, and *adhidaiva*. See the explanation of these terms in Wilson’s *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, pp. 2 and 9.

¹⁸ I quote the scholiast’s explanation of this obscure verse:—*Ko ’sau paramātmā tam āha ‘sṛjoti’ iti | imam sphoṭam avyaktam oṁkāram | nanu jīva eva taṁ sṛjotu | na ity āha | sūpta-śrotre karmā-pūhūnādīn arṛittike ’pi śrotre sati | jīvastu karanādhīnatvād na tadū śrota | tadupalābhīstu tasya paramātmā-dvārikā eva iti bhāvaḥ | Iivarastu naivam | yataḥ sūnya-drīk sūnye ’pi indriya-vargo drīk jñānaṁ yasya | tathā hi sūpta yadā śabdaṁ śrutev prabuddhyate na tadā jīvaḥ śrotā linendriyatrāt | ato yas tadā śabdaṁ śrutev jīvam prabodhayati sa yathā paramātmā*

exponent of Brahma, the self-sustained, the supreme spirit; and it is the eternal seed of the Vedas, including all the Mantras and Upanishads. In this [oṃkāra] there were, o descendant of Bhṛigu, three letters, A and the rest, by which the three conditions, viz. the [three] qualities, the [three] names, the [three] objects, the [three] states¹⁹ are maintained. From these three letters the divine and unborn being created the various letters of the alphabet, distinguished as inner (*y, r, l, v*), *ushmas* (*ś, sh, s, h*), vowels, long and short, and consonants. With this [alphabet] the omnipresent Being, desiring to reveal the functions of the four classes of priests, [created] from his four mouths the four Vedas with the three sacred syllables (*ryāhṛītis*) and the *oṃkāra*. These he taught to his sons, the brahmarshis, skilled in sacred lore; and these teachers of duty, in turn declared them to *their* sons. The Vedas were thus received by each succeeding generation of devout pupils throughout the four yugas, from their predecessors, and were divided by great sages at the beginning of the Dvāpara.²⁰ The Brahmarshis, impelled by Achyuta, who resided in their hearts, divided the Vedas, because they perceived that men had declined in age, in virtue, and in understanding. In this Manvantara also,²¹ the divine and omnipresent Being, the author of the

eva tadevat ko 'sāv oṃkāras taṁ viśinashṭi sārḍhena yena vāg bṛhatī ryajjate yasya cha hṛidayāṅkṛtse ātmanah sakūśād vyaktir abhivyaktiḥ. The word *sphoṭa* will be explained below, in Section VII.

¹⁹ These the scholiast explains thus:—*Guṇāḥ satteḍḍayaḥ | nāmāni ṛig-yajur-sāmāni | arthā bhūr-bhuvah-svar-lokāḥ | vṛttayo jīgrād-ādyāḥ*.

²⁰ *Dvāparādaṁ* can only mean the “beginning of the Dvāpara;” but the scholiast undertakes by the following process of reasoning to show that it means the *end* of that yuga. *Dvāparādaṁ dvāparam ādir yasya tad-antyaṁśa-lakṣaṇasya kālasya | tasmīn dvāparānte veda-vibhāga-prasiddheḥ Śāntanu-samakāla-Vyāsavatāra-prasiddheścha | vyastā vibhaktāḥ*. “*Dvāparādaṁ* means the period of which the dvāpara was the beginning, i.e. the time distinguished as the concluding portion of that yuga; since it is notorious that the Vedas were divided at the end of the Dvāpara, and that the incarnation of Vyāsa was contemporaneous with Śāntanu. *Vyastā*=*vibhaktāḥ*, divided.”

²¹ From this it appears that hitherto the account had not referred to the present Manvantara. The scholiast remarks:—*Evaṁ sāmānyato veda-vibhāga-kramam uktvā vaivasvata-manvantare viśeshato nirūpayitum āha*. “Having thus [in the pre-

universe, being supplicated by Brahmeśa and the other guardians of the world, to maintain righteousness, became partially incarnate as the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī, and divided the Veda into four parts. Selecting aggregates of Rik, Atharva, Yajush, and Sāma verses, and arranging them in sections (*vargas*), he formed four *sanhitās* (collections) of the hymns, as gems [of the same description are gathered together in separate heaps]. Having summoned four disciples, the sage gave to each of them one of these *sanhitās*. To Paila he declared the first *sanhitā*, called that of the Bahvrichas; to Vaiśampāyana the assemblage of Yajush verses, called Nigada; to Jaimini the Chhandoga collection of Sāma verses; and to his pupil, Sumantu, the Atharvangirasī.”

The Bhāgavata Purana, however, is not consistent in the account which it gives of the division of the Vedas. In a passage already quoted in the First Part of this work, p. 48, it speaks of that division as having been the work of the monarch Purūravas, and as having taken place in the beginning of the Tretā age. From the importance of this text I will extract it here again at greater length.

The celestial nymph Ūrvaśī, the Purana tells us, had been doomed, in consequence of a curse, to take up her abode upon earth. She there fell in love with King Purūravas, the report of whose manly beauty had touched her heart, even before she had been banished from paradise. After spending many happy days in the society of her lover, she forsook him in consequence of his having infringed one of the conditions of their cohabitation, and Purūravas was in consequence rendered very miserable. He at length, however, obtained a renewal of their intercourse, and she finally recommended him to worship the Gandharvas, who would then re-unite her to him indissolubly.

The Purana then proceeds (ix. 14, 43 ff.):—*Tasya saṁstu-*

ceding verses] generally described the manner in which the Vedas were divided, [the author] now states [as follows], with the view of determining particularly [what was done] in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.”

*ratas tushṭā agnisthālīm dadur nṛipa | Ūrvaśīm manyamānas
tām so 'budhyata charan rane || Sthālīm nyasya rane gatvā grīhān
ādhyāyato nīsi || Tretāyām samprarṛittāyām manasi trayy avart-
tata || Sthālī-sthānām gato 'śrattham śamī-garbham rilaxya saḥ |
Tena dee aranī kritvā Ūrvaśī-loka-kāmyayā || Ūrvaśīm mantrato
dhyāyann adharāraṇim uttarām | Ātmānam ubhayor mudhye yat
tat prajānanaṁ prabhuh | Tusya nirmathanāj jāto jātavedā
vibhāvasuḥ | Trayyā cha vidyayā rājñā putratrc kalpitas trirrit |
Tenāyajata yajñeśam bhagavantam adhoxajam | Ūrvaśī-lokam
anrichhan sarva-decamayaṁ Hariṁ | Eka eva purā cedah prajā-
rah sarva-rāṅgmayah | Dero nārāyaṇo nūnya eko 'gnir varṇa
eva cha | Purūravasa crāsīt trayī tretā-mukhe nṛipa | Agnīnā
prajāyā rājā lokam gāndharvam cyirān.* "The Gandharvas,
gratified by his praises, gave him a platter containing fire. This
he [at first] surposed to be Ūrvaśī, but became aware [of his
mistake], as he wandered in the wood. Having placed the
platter in the forest, Purūravas went home; and as he was
meditating in the night, after the Tretā age had commenced,
the triple Veda appeared before his mind.²² Returning to the
spot where he had placed the platter, he beheld an *āśvattha* tree
springing out of a *śamī* tree, and formed from it two pieces of
wood. Longing to attain the world where Ūrvaśī dwelt, he
imagined to himself, according to the sacred text, Ūrvaśī as the
lower and himself as the upper piece of wood, and their offspring
as lying between the two. Fire was generated from the friction,
and, according to the threefold science [Veda], was under its
triple form, recognised by the king as his son. With this seek-
ing to attain the heaven of Ūrvaśī, he worshipped the divine
Hari, the lord of sacrifice, Adhoxaja, formed of the substance of
all the gods. There was formerly only one Veda, the sacred
monosyllable *om*, the essence of all speech; only one god,
Nārāyaṇa; only one Agni, and [one] caste. From Purūravas
came the triple Veda in the beginning of the Tretā age.

²² *Karma-bodhakam vedatrayaṁ prādurabhūt.* "The three Vedas, ordainers of
rites, were manifested to him," as the scholiast explains.

Through Agni, his son, the king attained the heaven of the Gandharvas.”²³

On the close of this passage the commentator remarks :—*Nanv anādir veda-traya-bodhito brāhmaṇādīnām Indrādyaṇeka-deva-yajaneṇa svarga-prāpti-hetuḥ karma-mārgaḥ kathaṁ sādīr iva var-nyate | Tatrāha ‘eka eva’ iti drābhyām | Purā kṛita-yuge sarva-vāṅg-mayaḥ sarvāsūṁ rāchūṁ rīja-bhūtaḥ praṇava eva redaḥ | Devāscha Nārāyaṇa eva | Agniścha eva eva luukīkaḥ | Var-naścha eva eva haṁso nāma | Vedatrayī tu Purūraraṣaḥ sakāśād āsīt . . . Ayam bhūvaḥ | kṛita-yuge sattra-pradhānāḥ prāyaśaḥ sarve ’pi dhyānanishṭhāḥ | rajaḥ-pradhāne tu Tretā-yuge redādi-ribhāgena karmamārgāḥ prakāṣaḥ babhūva ityarthah.* “How is it that the eternal method of works, which is pointed out by the three Vedas, and through which Brahmans and others, by worshipping Indra and many other gods, attain to paradise, is spoken of [in the preceding verses] as if it had a beginning in time? He [the author of the Purana] answers this in these two verses. Formerly, *i.e.* in the Kṛita age, there was only one Veda, the sacred monosyllable *om*, the essence of all words, *i.e.* that which is the seed of all words; and there was only one god, Nārāyaṇa; only one fire, that for common uses; and only one caste, the Hansa. But the triple Veda came from Purūravas. . . . The meaning is this: in the Kṛita age the quality of goodness predominated in men, who were almost all absorbed in meditation. But in the Tretā age, when passion (*rajas*) prevailed, the method of works was manifested by the division of the Vedas.”²⁴

This last quoted passage of the Bhāgavata gives, as I have inti-

²³ This story is also told in a prose passage in the Vish. Pur. iv. 6 (Wilson, p. 394). It is there stated that Purūravas divided fire, which was originally one, in a threefold manner. *Eko ’gnir ādīv abhavad Aitena tu atra manvantare traitā pravarṭitū.* No mention, however, is there made of his having divided the Vedas, or partitioned society into castes.

²⁴ This legend is borrowed from the Śatapatha Brahmana, xi. 5, 1, 1 ff. (p. 855–858 Weber’s ed.), where the motive for its introduction is to describe the process by which fire was generated by Purūravas in obedience to the command of the Gandharvas, as the means of his admission into their paradise. See Professor Müller’s translation of this story in the Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 62, 63. The legend is founded on the 95th hymn of the tenth book of the Rig-veda.

mated, a different account of the division of the Vedas from that contained in the text previously adduced from the same work, and in the citations from the Vishnu and Vāyu Puranas. The one set of passages speak of the Veda as having been divided by Vyāsa into four parts in the Dvāpara age; while the text last cited speaks of the triple Veda as having originated with Purūravas in the Tretā age; and evidently belonged to a different tradition from the former three. The legend which speaks of three Vedas is likely to be more ancient than that which speaks of four, as it was not till a comparatively late date that the Atharva asserted its right to be ranked with the three others as a fourth Veda. This earlier tradition, however, appears to have had its origin partly in etymological considerations. The word Tretā, though designating the *second* Yuga, means a triad, and seems to have been suggested to the writer's mind by the triple fire mentioned in the legend.

Mahābhārata.—The following passage from the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva (verses 13,088 ff.), agrees partially in tenor with the second passage from the Bhāgavata, but is silent regarding Purūravas:—*Idaṁ kṛtayugam nāma kālāḥ śreshtāḥ prarartitaḥ | Ahimsyā yajñapaśaro yuge 'smīn na tad anyathā || Chaturshpāt śakulo dharmo bhacishyaty atra vai surāḥ | Tatas Tretā yugam nāma trayi yatra bharishyati || Proxītā yajñapaśaro badhaṁ prāpsyanti vai makhe²⁵ | Yatra pādaś chaturtho vai dharmasya na bhavishyati || Tato vai drāparam nāma mīśraḥ kālo bharishyati.* “This present Kṛita age is the best of all the yugas; in it it is unlawful to slay any animals for sacrifice; in this age righteousness shall consist of all its four portions and be entire. Then shall follow the Tretā age, in which the triple

²⁵ Manu (i. 85, 86) differs from this passage of the Mahābhārata in making the Dvāpara the age of sacrifice;—*Anye kṛtayuge dharmās Tretāyām Dvāpare pare | Anye kaliyuge nīnām yuga-brāsūnurūputaḥ | Tapas param Kṛtayuge Tretāyām jñānam uch्यate | Dvāpare yajñam evāhur dānam ekam kalau yuge.* “Different duties are practised by men in the Kṛita age, and different duties in the Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali ages, in proportion to the decline in those yugas. Devotion is said to be supreme in the Kṛita, knowledge in the Tretā, sacrifice in the Dvāpara, and liberality alone in the Kali.”

Veda shall arise, and animals fit for sacrifice shall be slaughtered as oblations. In that age the fourth part of righteousness shall be wanting. Next shall succeed the Dvāpara, a mixed period."

The M. Bh. (Śāntip. 13,475) relates that two Asuras, who beheld Brahmā creating the Vedas, suddenly snatched them up and ran off. Brahmā laments their loss, exclaiming, *Vedo me paramam charur vedo me paramam balam* | . . . *Vedān ṛite hi kiṁ kuryāṁ lokānāṁ śṛiṣṭim uttamām*. "The Veda is my principal eye; the Veda is my principal strength. . . . What shall I do without the Vedas, the most excellent creation in the universe?" They were, however, recovered and restored to Brahmā (v. 13,506 ff.)

Vishnu-purāṇa.—The following verse, Vish. Pur. iii. 2, 12 (Wilson, p. 269), refers to the periodical disappearance of the Vedas:—*Chaturyugānte vedānāṁ jāyate kuliciplavaḥ* | *pravaratayanti tān etya bhuri saptarshayo dirāḥ*. "At the end of the four ages (*yugas*) the disappearance of the Vedas, incident to the kali, takes place. The seven rishis come from heaven to earth, and again give them currency." (Compare M. Bh. Śāntip. 7,660, which will be quoted further on.)

SECT. V.—*Accounts in the Vishnu and Vāyu Puranas of the schisms between the adherents of the Yajur-veda, Vaisampāyana and Yājñavalkya; hostility of the Ātharvānas towards the other Vedas; and of the Chhandogas towards the Rig-veda.*

The Vishnu Purana, iii. 5, 2 ff. (Wilson, p. 279 ff.), gives the following legend regarding the way in which the Yajur-veda came to be divided into two schools, the black and the white:—*Yājñavalkyas tu tasyābhūd Brahmarātasuto dviḥ* | *Śiṣyah parama-dharmajño guru-vṛitti-parāḥ sadā* | *Rishir yo 'dya mahāmeruṁ samāje nāgamishyati* | *Tasya vai sapta-rātrantu brahma-hatyā bharishyati* | *Pūram eva muni-gaṇaiḥ samayo 'bhūt krito dviḥ* | *Vaisampāyana ekas tu taṁ vyatikrāntavāṁs tadā* | *Svaśrīyam bālakaṁ so 'tha padā śṛiṣṭam aghātayat* |

*Śishyān āha sa bhoḥ śishyā brahma-hatyāpahaṁ vratam | Cha-
radhram matkṛite sarve na richāryyam idam tathā | Athāha
Yājñacalkyas taṁ kim ebhir bhagavan deṣaiḥ | Kleśitair alpa-
tejobhir charishye 'ham idam vratam | Tataḥ kruddho guruḥ
prāha Yājñaralkyam mahāmatih | Muchyatām yut trayā 'dhītam
matto viprāramanyaka | Nistejaso radasy etān yas team brāh-
maṇa-puṅgarūn | Tena śishyeṇa nārtho 'sti mamājñā-bhaṅga-
hārīnū | Yājñaralkyas tataḥ prāha bhaktau tat te mayoditam |
Mamāpy alaṁ trayā 'dhītām yud mayā tul idam deṣa | Ity
uktrā rudhirāktāni sarāpāni yajūṁshi sah | Chhardayitrā dadau
tasmai yayau cha scechhayā munih | yajūṁshy aha viśiṣhtāni
yajñaralkyena vai deṣa | Jagṛikus tittirībhūtrā Tūttirīyās tu te
tataḥ | Brahma-hatyā-vratam chīrṇam gurunā choditais tu yaiḥ |
Charakādhvaryas te tu charaṇūd munisattamāḥ | Yājñaral-
kyo 'tha Maitreya prānāyāma-parāyanah | tushṭāva prayataḥ
sūryam yajūṁshy abhilashaṁs tataḥ | . . . Ity ecamādibhīstena
stūyamanah sturair rariḥ | vāji-rūpa-dharah prāha rīyatām iti
vāñchhitam | Yājñacalkyas tadā prāha pranipatya dirākaram |
yajūṁshi tāni me dehi yāni santi na me gurau | Eram ukto
dadau tasmai yajūṁshi bhagarān racih | ayātayāma-saṅjñāni
yāni retti na taiguruh | Yajūṁshi yair adhītāni tāni viprair
deṣottama | vājinas te samākhyātāḥ sūryo 'ścaḥ so 'bharad yataḥ.
“Yājñavalkya, son of Brahmarāti, was his [Vaiśampāyana's]
disciple, eminently versed in duty, and obedient to his teacher.
An agreement had formerly been made by the Munis that any
one of their number who should fail to attend at an assembly
on Mount Meru on a certain day should incur the guilt of Brah-
manicide during [within?] a period of seven nights. Vaiśam-
pāyana was the only person who infringed this agreement, and
he in consequence occasioned the death of his sister's child by
touching it with his foot. He then desired all his disciples to
perform in his behalf an expiation which should take away his
guilt, and forbade any hesitation. Yājñavalkya then said to him,
'Reverend sir, what is the necessity for these faint and feeble
Brahmins? I will perform the expiation.' The wise teacher,*

incensed, replied to Yajnavalkya, 'Contemner of Brahmans, give up all that thou hast learnt from me; I have no need of a disobedient disciple, who, like thee, stigmatizes these eminent Brahmans as feeble.' Yajnavalkya rejoined, 'It was from devotion [to thee] that I said what I did; but I, too, have done with thee: here is all that I have learnt from thee.' Having spoken, he vomited forth the identical Yajush texts tainted with blood, and giving them to his master, he departed at his will. [The other pupils] having then become transformed into partridges (*tittiri*), picked up the Yajush texts, and were thence called Taittiriya. And those who had by their teacher's command performed the expiation, were from this performance (*charana*) called Charakadhvaryus. Yajnavalkya then, who was habituated to the exercise of suppressing his breath, devoutly hymned the sun, desiring to obtain Yajush texts . . . [I pass over the hymn.] Thus celebrated with these and other praises, the sun assumed the form of a horse, and said, 'Ask whatever boon thou desirest.' Yajnavalkya then, prostrating himself before the lord of day, replied, 'Give me such Yajush texts as my teacher does not possess.' Thus supplicated, the sun gave him the Yajush texts called *Ayātayāma*, which were not known to his master. Those by whom these texts were studied were called Vājins, because the sun (when he gave them) assumed the shape of a horse (*vāji*)."

I quote also the parallel text from the Vāyu Purana, as it exhibits some slight variations from the preceding, (Vāyu Pur. Aufr. Cat. p. 55):—*Kāryam āsīd ṛishīnāṅcha kiñchid brāhmaṇa-sattamāḥ | Meru-prishṭhaṁ samāsūdyā tais tadā 'striti mantritam | Yo no 'tra sapta-rātreṇa nāgachhed drīja-sattamāḥ | sa kuryād brahma-badhyāṁ vai samayo naḥ prakīrtitah | Tatas te saganāḥ sarve Vaiśampāyana-varjītāḥ | Prayayuh saptarātreṇa yatra sandhiḥ kṛito 'bharat | Brāhmaṇānāntu vachanād brahma-badhyāṁ chakāra saḥ | Śishyān atha samānīya sa Vaiśampāyano 'bravīt | Brahma-badhyāṁ charadhvaṁ vai mathṛite drījah-sattamāḥ | sarve yūyāṁ samāgāmya brūta me taddhitāṁ*

vachah | Yājñavalkya uvācha | Aham eva charishyāmi tishṭhantu munayas tv ime | balañchotthāpayishyāmi tapasā svena bhūvitaḥ | Evam uktas tataḥ kruddho Yājñavalkyam athābravīt | uvācha yat trayā 'dhītaṁ sarvaṁ pratyarpayasra me | Ecam uktaḥ sarūpāni yajūṁshi pradadau guroḥ | rudhīreṇa tathā 'ktāni chharditrā brahma-vittamaḥ | Tataḥ sa dhyānam āsthāya sūryam ārādhayad dejah | sūrya brahma yad uchchhinnam kham gatvā pratitishṭhati | Tato yāni gatāny ūrdhvaṁ yajūṁshy āditya-maṇḍalam | Tāni tasmai dadau tuṣṭaḥ sūryo vai Brāhmarāṭaye | Aśvarūpaścha mārtaṇḍo Yājñavalkyāya dhimate | Yajūṁshy adhiyate yāni brahmaṇā yena kenachit | aśvarūpāni dattāni tatas te Vājino 'bhavan | brahma-hatyā tu yaiś chirṇā charaṇāt charakāḥ smritāḥ | Vaisāmpāyana-śishyūs te charakāḥ samudāhṛitāḥ. “The rishis having a certain occasion, met on the summit of Mount Meru, when, after consultation, they resolved and agreed together that any one of their number who should fail to attend there for seven nights should be involved in the guilt of brahmanicide. They all in consequence resorted to the appointed place for seven nights along with their attendants. Vaisāmpāyana alone was absent, and he, according to the word of the Brahmans, committed brahmanicide. He then assembled his disciples, and desired them to perform, on his behalf, an expiation for his offence, and to meet and tell him what was salutary for the purpose. Yājñavalkya then said, ‘I myself will perform the penance; let all these munis refrain: inspired by my own devotion, I shall raise up strength.’ Incensed at this speech of Yājñavalkya [Vaisāmpāyana] said to him, ‘Restore all that thou hast learned.’ Thus addressed, the sage, deeply versed in sacred lore, vomited forth the identical Yajush texts stained with blood, and delivered them to his teacher. Plunged in meditation, the Brahman then adored the sun, saying, ‘Sun, every sacred text which disappears [from the earth] goes to the sky, and there abides.’ The sun, gratified, and [appearing] in the form of a horse, bestowed on Yājñavalkya, son of Brāhmarāṭa, all the Yajush texts which had ascended to the solar region. All the

Yajush texts which are [?] studied by any priest, were given in the form of horses, [?] and in consequence these priests became Vājins. And the disciples of Vaisāmpāyana, by whom the expiatory rite was accomplished, were called *Charakas*, from its accomplishment (*charana*)."²⁶

It is sufficiently evident from the preceding legend that the adherents of the two different divisions of the Yajurveda (the Taittiriya or black, and the Vajasaneyi or white), must in ancient times have regarded each other with feelings of the greatest hostility—feelings akin to those with which the followers of the rival deities, Vishnu and Śiva, look upon each other in modern days. On this subject I quote an extract from Professor Weber's "History of Indian Literature."

P. 84.—"Whilst the theologians of the Rik are called Bahvrichas, and those of the Sāman Chhandogas, the old name for the divines of the Yajush is Adhvaryu; and these old appellations are to be found in the Sanhitā of the Black Yajush (the Taittiriya), and in the Brahmana of the White Yajush (the Śatapatha Brahmana). The latter work applies the term Adhvaryus to its own adherents, whilst their opponents are denominated Charakādhvaryus, and are the objects of censure. This hostility is also exhibited in a passage of the Sanhitā of the White Yajush, where the Charakāchārya, as one of the human sacrifices to be offered at the Purushamedha, is devoted to Dushkrita or Sin."²⁷

²⁶ In a note to p. 461 of his Translation of the Vishnu Purana, Professor Wilson mentions the following legend illustrative of the effects of this schism. "The Vāyu and Matsya relate, rather obscurely, a dispute between Janamejaya and Vaisāmpāyana, in consequence of the former's patronage of the Brahmans of the Vajasaneyi branch of the Yajur-veda, in opposition to the latter, who was the author of the Black or original Yajush. Janamejaya twice performed the Āsvamedha according to the Vajasaveyi ritual, and established the Trisarvī, or use of certain texts by Āsmaka and others, by the Brahmans of Anga, and by those of the middle country. He perished, however, in consequence, being cursed by Vaisāmpāyana. Before their disagreement, Vaisāmpāyana related the Mahābhārata to Janamejaya."

²⁷ Vajasaneyi Sanhitā xxx. 18 (p. 846 of Weber's ed.) :—*Dushkritūya charakāchāryyam* | (*charakānām gurum*—Scholiast). Prof. Müller also says (Anc. Sans. Lit. p. 350), "This name Charaka is used in one of the Khilas" (the passage just quoted) "of the Vajasaneyi Sanhitā as a term of reproach. In the 30th Adhyāya a list of people is given who are to be sacrificed at the Purushamedha, and among them we

In his *Indische Studien* (iii. 454) Prof. Weber specifies the following passages in the Śatapatha Brahmana as those in which the Charakas, or Charakādhvaryus are censured, viz., iii. 8, 2, 24; iv. 1, 2, 19; iv. 2, 3, 15; iv. 2, 4, 1; vi. 2, 2, 1, 10; viii. 1, 3, 7; viii. 7, 1, 14, 24. Of these I quote one specimen (iv. 1, 2, 19):—*Tā u ha Charakā nānaiva mantrābhyāṃ juhvati prāṇodānau kurma iti vadantaḥ | Tad u tathā na kuryāt | mohayanti ha te yajamānasya prāṇodānāv apīdvā enam tūshṇīm juhuyāt.* “These the Charakas offer respectively with two mantras, saying thus: ‘These are his two breathings,’ and ‘we thus make these two breathings endowed with their respective powers.’ But let no one adopt this procedure, for they confound the breathings of the worshipper. Wherefore let this libation be offered in silence.”²⁸

But these sectarian jealousies were not confined to the different schools of the Yajur-veda; the adherents of the Atharva-veda seem to have evinced a similar spirit of hostility towards the followers of the other Vedas. On this subject Prof. Weber remarks as follows in his *Indische Studien*, i. 296. “A good deal of animosity is generally displayed in most of the writings connected with the Atharvan towards the other three Vedas; but the strongest expression is given to this feeling in the first of the Atharva Parisiṣhtas, chapter cxii.”

He then proceeds to quote the following passage from that work and chapter:—*Bahrīcho hanti vai rāshṭram adhvaryur nāśayet sūtān | Chhundogo dhanam nāśayet tasmād Ātharrano guruḥ | Ajñānād vā pramādād vā yasya syād bahrīcho guruḥ | deśa-rāshṭra-purāmātya-nāśas tasya na saṁśayaḥ | yadi vā*

find the Charakāchārya as the proper victim to be offered to Dushkrita or Sin. This passage, together with similar hostile expressions in the Śatapatha Brahmana, were evidently dictated by a feeling of animosity against the ancient schools of the Adhvaryus, whose sacred texts we possess in the Taittirīya-veda, and from whom Yājñavalkya seceded in order to become himself the founder of the new Charanas of the Vūjasaneyins.”

²⁸ Though aided by a learned friend in rendering this passage, I am not certain of the perfect exactness of the translation. But there is no doubt whatever that the tendency of the text is hostile to the rival school of the Charakas.

*'dhvāryavaṁ rājā niyunakti purohitum | śāstreṇa badhyate
 xipram parixīnārtha-vāhanaḥ | yathaiṣa paṅgur adheṇām apaxī
 chāṇḍa-bhojanam | evaṁ chhandoga-guruṇā rājā vṛiddhiṁ na
 gachhati | purodhā jalado yasya mardo vā syāt kathañchana |
 abdād daśabhyo māsebhyo rāshtra-bhraṁśaṁ sa gachhati.* “A
 Bahvṛicha (Rig-veda priest) will destroy a kingdom; an Adhvaryu
 (Yajur-veda priest) will destroy offspring; and a Chhandoga
 (Sāma-veda priest) will destroy wealth;—hence an Atharvana
 priest is the [proper] spiritual adviser. Destruction of country,
 kingdom, cities, and ministers is certainly incurred by the [king]
 who, through ignorance or folly, takes a Bahvṛicha priest for
 his guide. Or if a king appoints an Adhvaryu priest to be his
 domestic chaplain, he loses his wealth and his chariots, and is
 speedily slain by the sword. As a lame man [makes no pro-
 gress] on a road, and a creature which is not a bird [cannot] eat
 eggs [?], so no king prospers who has a Chhandoga for his teacher.
 He who has a *Jaluda* or a *Mauda* for his priest, loses his kingdom
 after a year or ten months.”

“Thus,” continues Prof. Weber, “the author of the *Parīśishta* attacks certain sakhās of the Atharva-veda itself, for such
 are the *Jaladas* and the *Maudas*, and admits only a *Bhārgava*, a
Paippalāda, or a *Śaunaka* to be a properly qualified teacher.
 He further declares that the Atharva-veda is intended only for
 the highest order of priest, the brahman, not for the three other
 inferior sorts.”

The following passage is then quoted:—*Atharvā sṛjate ghoram
 adbhutaṁ śamayet tathā | atharvā raxate yajñam yajñasya patir
 Angirāḥ | Divyāntarīxa-bhaumānām utpātānām anekadhā |
 śamayita brahma-veda-jñas tasmād duxiṇto Bhṛiguḥ | Brahmā
 śamayet nādhvāryur na chhandogo na bahvṛichah | raxāṁsi
 raxati brahmā brahmā tasmād atharva-rit.* “The Atharva
 priest creates horrors, and he also allays alarming occurrences;
 he protects the sacrifice, of which Angiras is the lord. He who
 is skilled in the Brahma-veda (the Atharva) can allay manifold
 portents, celestial, atmospheric, and terrestrial, wherefore the

Bṛigu [is to be placed] on the right hand. It is the brahman, and not the adhvaryu, the chhandoga, or the bahvricha, who can allay [portents]; the brahman wards off [?] raxases, wherefore the brahman is he who knows the Atharva."

I subjoin another extract from Prof. Weber's *Indische Studien*, i. 63 ff., partly to complete what was said on the relation of the Sāma-veda to the Rig-veda in Part Second of this work, pp. 202, 203, and partly to illustrate the mutual hostility of the different schools. "To understand the relation of the Sāma-veda to the Rig-veda, we have only to form to ourselves a clear and distinct idea of the manner in which these hymns in general arose, how they were then carried to a distance by those tribes which emigrated onward, and how they were by them regarded as sacred, whilst in their original home, they were either—as living in the immediate consciousness of the people—subjected to modifications corresponding to the lapse of time, or made way for new hymns by which they were pushed aside, and so became forgotten. It is a foreign country which first surrounds familiar things with a sacred charm; emigrants continue to occupy their ancient mental position, preserving what is old with painful exactness, while at home life opens out for itself new paths. New emigrants follow those who had first left their home, and unite with those who are already settlers in a new country. And now the old and the new hymns and usages are fused into one mass, and are faithfully, but uncritically, learned and imbibed by travelling pupils from different masters (several stories in the *Vrihad Aranyaka* are especially instructive on this point, see *Ind. Stud.* p. 83), so that a varied intermixture arises. Others, again, more learned, then strive to introduce arrangement, to bring together what is homogeneous, to separate what is distinct; and in this way theological intolerance springs up; without which the rigid formation of a text or a canon is impossible. The influence of courts on this process is not to be overlooked; as, for example, in the case of Janaka, King of Videha, who in *Yajñavalkya* had found his Homer. Anything approaching to a

clear insight into the reciprocal relations of the different schools will in vain be sought either from the Puranas or the Charanavyūha, and can only be attained by comparing the teachers named in the different Brahmanas and Sūtras, partly with each other and partly with the text of Panini and the gaṇapāṭha and commentary connected therewith (for the correction of which a thorough examination of Patanjali would offer the only sufficient guarantee). For the rest, the relation between the S. V. and the R. V. is in a certain degree analogous to that between the White and the Black Yajush; and, as in the Brahmana of the former (the Śatapatha Br.) we often find those teachers who are the representatives of the latter, mentioned with contempt, it cannot surprise us, if in the Brahmana of the Sāma-veda, the Paingins and Kaushītakins are similarly treated."

It will have become sufficiently manifest to the reader of the preceding passages which I have extracted from the Puranas concerning the division and different Śakhās of the Vedas, that the traditions which they embody contain very little real information in regard to the composition of the hymns, or the manner in which they were preserved, collected, or arranged. In fact, I have not adduced these passages for the purpose of elucidating those points, but to show the legendary character of the narratives, and their discrepancies in matters of detail. For an account of the Śakhās of the Vedas, the ancient schools of the Brahmans, and other matters of a similar nature, I must refer to the excellent work of Prof. Müller, the "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 119-132 and 364-388 and elsewhere.

SECT VI.—*Reasonings of the Commentators on the Vedas, in support of the authority of the Vedas.*

I proceed now to adduce some extracts from the works of the more systematic authors who have treated of the origin and authority of the Vedas, I mean the commentators on these books themselves, and the authors and expositors of the aphorisms of

several of the schools of Hindu philosophy. Whatever we may think of the premises from which these writers set out, or of the conclusions at which they arrive, we cannot fail to be struck with the contrast which their speculations exhibit to the loose and mystical ideas of the Puranas and Upanishads, or to admire the acuteness of their reasoning, and the logical precision with which their arguments are presented.

I.—The first passage which I shall adduce is from Sāyana's introduction to his commentary on the Rig-veda, the *Vedārtha-prakāśa*, pp. 3 ff. (Sāyana, as we have seen in Part Second, p. 172, lived in the 14th century, A.D.) *Naṃ Veda eva tārad nāsti | kutas tadavāntara-viśeṣa ṛigvedaḥ | Tathā hi | ko 'yaṃ vedo nāma | na hi tatra laxaṇaṃ pramāṇaṃ vā 'sti | na cha tad-ubhaya-ryatirekheṇa kiñchid vastu prasidhyati | Laxaṇa-pramāṇā-bhūyāṃ hi vastu-siddhir iti nyāyavidūṃ matam | Pratyakṣānumān-āgamaṣu pramāṇa-viśeṣeṣu antimo Veda iti tallaxaṇam iti chet | na | Manvādī-smṛtiṣu atiryūpteh | Samaya-baleṇa samyak paroxānubhava-sādhanaṃ ity etasya āgama-laxaṇasya tās-rapi sadbhārāt | apaurusheyatre sati iti viśeṣaṇād adosha iti chet | na | Vedasyāpi paramēśvara-nirmūtatveṇa paaurusheyatrāt | Śarīra-dhārī-jīva-nirmūtatvābhārād apaurusheyatram iti chet | [na ?] | 'Sahasra-śrīṣhā puruṣa' ityādi-śrutiḥ iśvaraśyāpi śarīritrāt | Karma-phala-rūpa-śarīra-dhārī-jīva-nirmūtatvābhāva-mātreṇa apaurusheyatvaṃ vicakṣitam iti chet | na | Jīva-viśeṣhair Agni-Vāyo-Ādityair vedānāṃ utpāditatrāt | 'Rigveda evāgnir ajāyata Yajurvedo vāyoḥ Sāmavedo ādityād' iti śruter iśvara-sya agnyādi-prerakateṇa nirmātrītraṃ drakṣyāṃ | mantra-brāhmaṇātmakeṇa śabda-rāśir veda iti chet | na | Īdṛṣo mantraḥ | idṛṣam brāhmaṇam ity anayoḥ adyāpi anirūpitatrāt | Tasmād nāsti kiñchid vedasya laxaṇam | Nāpi tat-sadbhāve pramāṇaṃ paśyāmaḥ | 'Rigvedaṃ bhagavo 'dhymē Yajurvedaṃ Sāmavedaṃ Ātharvaṇam chaturtham' ityādi vākyaṃ pramāṇam iti chet | na | tasyāpi vākya-sya vedāntakpātitveṇa ātmāśrayatva-prasaṅgāt | Na khalu nipuṇo 'pi svaskandham āroḍhuṃ prabhaved iti | 'Veda eva drījātīnāṃ niḥśreyasa-karaḥ paraḥ' iti ādi smṛiti-*

vākyaṁ pramāṇam iti chet | na | tasyāpy ukta-śruti-mūlatrena nīrakṛitāt | pratyazādikaṁ śaṅkitum apy ayogyam | Veda-vishayā loka-prasiddhiḥ sārājaninā 'pi nīlaṁ nabha ityādivad bhrūntā | Tasmāl laxaṇa-pramāṇa-rahitasya vedasya sadbhāro na aṅgikarttuṁ śakyate iti pūrrapaxaḥ |

Atra uchyate | mantra-brāhmaṇātmakeṇ tēvad aduṣṭaṁ laxaṇam | ata eva Āpastambo yjñā-paribhāṣāyām evāha 'mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam' iti | tasyostu rūpam uparishṭhād nīrñeshyate | apauruṣheya-cūkyatram iti idam api yādriśam asmābhir eivarītaṁ tādriśam uttaratra spāṣṭi-bhaviṣhyati | pramāṇāṇy api yathoktāni śruti-smṛiti-lokaprasiddhirūpāni veda-sadbhāre drashtavyāni | Tathā ghaṭa-paṭūdi-dravyānām sra-prakāśatrābhāre 'pi sūryachandrādīnām sra-prakāśatram arūdrham tathā manushyādīnām scaskandhārohāsam-bhāre 'py akunṭhita-śakter vedasya itara-castu-pratipādakatratra sra-pratipādakatcam apy astu | Ata eva sampradāya-vido 'kunṭhitaṁ śaktim vedasya darśayanti 'chodanā nī bhūtam bhaviṣhyantaṁ sūrmaṁ vyarahitaṁ riprakṛiṣṭam ity evājñātyam artham śaknoty aragamayitum' iti | Tathā satī veda-mūlāyāḥ smṛites tadubhaya-mūlāyā loka-prasiddheṣcha pramāṇyaṁ dūr-vāram | Tasmāl laxaṇa-pramāṇa-siddho vedo na kenāpi chārēvā-kādinā 'podhuṁ śakyate iti sthūtam ||

Nam astu nāma Vedākhyah kāschat padārthaḥ | tathāpi nāsau vyākhyānam arhati apramāṇatena anupayuktatāt | Na hi Vedaḥ pramāṇaṁ tallaxaṇasya tatra duḥsampādātāt | tathā hi 'samyag anubhāva-sādhanam pramāṇam' iti kechid laxaṇam ākuḥ | āpare tu 'anadhigatārtha-gaṇṭhi pramāṇam' ity āchaxate | na chaitad ubhayaṁ vede sambharati | mantra-brāhmaṇātmake hi vedaḥ | tatra mantrāḥ kechid abodhakāḥ | 'amyak sā ta Indra ṛiṣṭir' ityeko mantrah | 'Yādriśmin dhāyī tam ayasyayā vidad' ity anyah | 'Śṛīṇeca jarbhari turpharītū' ityaparah | 'Āpānta-manyus triphala-prabharmā' ityādaya udāhāryāḥ | na hy etair mantrair kāschild apy artho 'cabudhyate | etesho anubhāro eva yadā nāsti tadā tatsamyaktraṁ tudīya-sādhanatraṇcha dūrāpctam | 'Adhaḥ scid āsīd upari scid āsīd' iti mantrasya

bodhakatre 'pi 'sthānur rā purusho vā' ityādi-vākya-vat sandigdhārtha-bodhakatrād nāsti prāmāṇyam | 'Oshadhe trāyasvainam' iti manthro darbha-vishayaḥ | 'Seadhite mainam kimsir' iti xura-vishayaḥ | 'Sṛiṇota grāvāna' iti pūshāna-vishayaḥ | Eteshv achetanānām darbha-xura-pūshānām chetana-vat sambodhanām śrūyate | tato 'drau chandramasāu' iti vākya-vad riparītārtha-bodhakatrād aprāmāṇyam | 'Eka eva Rudro na dvitīyo' vatasthe' | 'sahasrāṇi sahasraśo ye Rudrā adhi bhūmyām' ity anayos tu mantrayor 'yārājīvam aham maunī' iti vākya-vad vyāghātu-bodhakatrād aprāmāṇyam | 'Āpa undantu' iti manthro yajamānasya xaura-kāle jalena śiraśaḥ kledanam brūte | 'Śubhike śira aroha śobhayanti mukham mama' iti manthro ricāhu-kāle maṇḡalācharanārtham pushpa-nirmitāyā śubhikāyā varabadhvoḥ śirasya avasthūnam brūte | tayoścha mantrayor loka-prasiddhārthānurāditevād anadhigatārtha-ganṭhitvaṁ nāsti | tasmād mantra-bhāgo na pramāṇam |

Atra uchyate | Amyagādi-mantrāṇām artho Yāskena nirukta-granthe 'vabodhituḥ | tat-parichaya-rahitānām anavabodho na mantrāṇām doshām ārahati | Ata evātra loka-vyāyāma udāharanti 'naisha sthānur aparādho yad enam andho na paśyati | purushāparādho sambhavati' iti | 'Adhaḥ svīd āsīd' iti mantrascha na sandeḥa-prabodhanāya prarīttāḥ kīntarhi jagat-kāraṇasya paravastuno 'tigambhīratvaṁ niśchetum eva prarīttāḥ | tadartham eva hi guruśūstra-sampradāya-rahitair dubodhyatvam 'adhah svīd' ity anayā vaccho-bhāṅgyā upanyasyati | Sa evābhiprāya uparitanesha 'ko addhā veda' ity ādi-mantreshu spāṣṭi-kṛtāḥ | 'Oshadhy' ādi-mantreshu api chetanā eva tattad-abhimāni-devatās tena tena nāmnā sambodhyante | tāścha devatā bhagavatū Būdarāyaṇena 'abhimāni-vyapadśastu' iti sūtre sūtritāḥ | Ekasyāpi Rudrasya sva-mahimnā sahasra-mūrti-svīkārād nāsti parasparaṁ vyāghātaḥ | Jalādi-dravyeṇa śiraḥ-kledanāder loka-siddhatve 'pi tad-abhimāni-devatānugrahasya aprasiddhatvāt tad-vishayatvena ajñātārtha-jñāpakatvam | tato laxaṇa-sadbhārād asti mantra-bhāgasya prāmāṇyam.

“ But, some will say, there is no such thing as a Veda ;

how, then, can there be a Rig-veda, forming a particular part of it? For what is this Veda? It has no characteristic sign or evidence; and without these two conditions, nothing can be proved to exist. For logicians hold that 'a thing is established by characteristic signs and by proof.' If you answer that 'of the three kinds of proof, *perception*, *inference*, and *scripture*, the Veda is the last, and that this is its sign;' then the objectors rejoin that this is not true, for this sign extends too far, and includes also *Manu and the other Smritis*; since there exists in them also this characteristic of Scripture, viz., that 'in virtue of common consent it is a perfect instrument for the discovery of what is invisible.' If you proceed, 'the Veda is faultless, in consequence of its characteristic that it has no person (*purusha*) for its author;' they again reply, 'Not so; for as the Veda was formed by Paramesvara (God), it had a person (*purusha*) for its author.' If you rejoin, 'It had no person (*purusha*) for its author, for it was not made by any embodied living being;' [they refuse²⁹ to admit this] on the ground that, according to such Vedic texts as 'Purusha has a thousand heads,' it is clear that Ísvara (God) also has a body. If you urge that *apaurusheyatra* ('the having had no personal author') means that it was not composed by a living being endowed with a body which was the result of works;—the opponent denies this also, and asserts that the Vedas were created by particular living beings,—Fire, Air, and the Sun; for from the text 'the Rig-veda sprang from fire, the Yajur-veda from air, and the Sāma-veda from the sun,' etc., it will be seen that Ísvara, by inciting fire and the others, was the maker. If you next say that the Veda is a collection of words in the form of *Mantras* and *Brahmanas*, the objectors rejoin, 'Not so, for it has never yet been defined that a Mantra is so and so, and a Brahmana so and so.' There exists, therefore, no *characteristic mark*

²⁹ I have translated this, as if there had been (which there is not) a negative particle *na* in the text, after the *iti chet*, as this seems to me to make the best sense. I understand from Prof. Müller that the negative particle is found in some of the MSS.

of a Veda. Nor do we see any *proof* that a Veda exists. If you say that the text, 'I peruse, reverend sir, the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, and the Atharva as the fourth,' is a proof, the antagonist answers, 'No, for as that text is part of the Veda, it is exposed to the objection of depending upon itself; for no one, be he ever so clever, can mount upon his own shoulders.' If you again urge that such texts of the Smṛiti as this, 'It is the Veda alone which is supreme, and the source of blessedness to twice-born men,' are proofs, the objector rejoins, 'Not so; since these too must be rejected, as being founded on the same Veda.' The evidence of the senses and other ordinary sources of knowledge ought not even to be doubted. And common report in reference to the Veda, though universal, is erroneous, like such phrases as 'the blue sky,' etc. Wherefore, as the Veda is destitute of characteristic sign and proof, its existence cannot be admitted. Such is the first side of the question.

"To this we reply:—The definition of the Veda, as a work composed of Mantra and Brahmana, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says in the Yajñaparibhāṣā, *the name of Mantra and Brahmana is Veda*. The nature of these two things will be settled hereafter.³⁰ The sense we attach to the expression '*without any personal author*' will also be declared further on. Let the proofs which have been specified of the existence of the Veda, viz., the Veda (itself), the Smṛiti, and common notoriety, be duly weighed. Although jars, cloth, and other such [dark] objects have no inherent property of making themselves visible, it is no absurdity to speak of the sun, moon, and other luminous bodies, as shining by their own light. Just in the same way (though it is impossible for beings like men to mount on their own shoulders) let the all-penetrating Veda be held to have the power of proving

³⁰ See Part Second, p. 172. Madhava Achārya, the author of the Vedārtha-prakāśa on the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, admits the priority of the Mantras or hymns to the Brahmanas in these words (p. 9):—*Yadyapi mantra-brūhmaṇūtmako Vedaḥ tathāpi brūhmaṇasya mantra-ryākyūna-rūpatvāt mantrā eeṇḍau samāmnātūḥ*. "Though the Veda consists of Mantras and Brahmanas, yet as the Brahmanas are expository of the Mantras, the latter were first recorded."

itself as it has of proving other things.³¹ Hence traditionists set forth this penetrating force of the Veda; thus, 'the Scripture is able to make known the past, the future, the minute, the near, the remote.' Such being the case, the authority of the Smṛiti, which is based on the Veda, and of common notoriety, which is based on both, is irresistible. Wherefore it stands fast that the Veda, which is established by characteristic sign, and by proof, cannot be refuted by Chārvakas or any other opponents.

"But let it be admitted that there is a thing called a Veda. Still it does not deserve, and is unfitted for, explanation, since it does not constitute proof. The Veda is no proof, as it is difficult to show that it has any sign of that character. Some define proof as the instrument of perfect apprehension; others say, it is that which conducts us to what was not before comprehended. But neither of these definitions can be reasonably applied to the Veda. For the Veda consists of *Mantra* and *Brahmana*. Of these mantras some convey no meaning. Thus one is *amyak sū ta*, etc.; another is *yadrīsmīn*, etc.; a third is *śṛṅgera*, etc. The texts *āpāntu*,³² etc., and others are further examples. Now no meaning whatever is to be perceived through these mantras; and when they do not even convey an idea at all, much less can they convey a perfect idea, or be instruments of comprehension. Even if the mantra *adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīd*, 'was it below or above?' (R. V. x. 129, 5) convey a meaning, still, like such sayings as 'either a post or a man,' it conveys a dubious mean-

³¹ The same thing had been said before by Ś'ankūra Achāryya (who lived at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century, A.D. See Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, i. 332), in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* ii. 1, 1. *Vedasya hi nirapekṣam svarthe prāmāṇyaṁ raver iva rūpa rishaye | puruṣa-rachasām tu mūlāntarāpeṣām svarthe prāmāṇyaṁ vaktrī-smṛiti-eyarahaṭāṇcha itī viprakarṣhaḥ*. "For the Veda has an independent power of demonstration in respect of itself, as the sun has of manifesting forms. The words of men, on the other hand, have a power of proving themselves, which is derived from another source [the Veda], and which is separated [from its source] by the recollection of the author. Herein consists the distinction [between the two kinds of evidence]."

³² See *Nirukta*, v. 12, and vi. 15, and Roth's illustrations. It is not necessary for my purpose to inquire whether the charge of intelligibility brought against the texts is just or not.

ing, and so possesses no authority. The mantra, *deliver him, o plant*, has for its subject, grass. Another, *'do not hurt him, axe,'* has for its subject an axe (*xura*). A third, *'hear stones,'* has for its subject, stones. In these cases, grass, an axe, and stones, though insensible objects, are addressed in the Veda as if they were intelligent. Hence these passages have no authority, because, like the saying, *'two moons,'* their import is absurd. So also the two texts, *'there is one Rudra, no second has existed,'* and *'the thousand Rudras who are over the earth,'* involving, as they do, a mutual contradiction (just as if one were to say, *'I have been silent all my life'*), cannot be authoritative. The mantra *āpa undantu* expresses the wetting of the sacrificer's head with water at the time of tonsure; while the text *'śubhike,'* etc. (*'garland, mount on my head and decorate my face'*) expresses the placing of a garland formed of flowers on the heads of the bridegroom and bride, by way of blessing, at the time of marriage. Now, as these two last texts merely repeat a matter of common notoriety, they cannot be said to conduct us to what was not before comprehended. Wherefore the Mantra portion of the Veda is destitute of authority.

"To this we reply, the meaning of these texts *'anyak,'* etc., and the others has been explained by Yāska in the Nirukta. The fact that they are not understood by persons ignorant of that explanation, does not prove any defect in the mantras. It is customary to quote here the popular maxim, *'it is not the fault of the post that the blind man does not see it; the reasonable thing to say is that it is the man's fault.'* The mantra *'adhah svid,'* etc. (*'was it above or below?'*), is not intended to convey doubt, but rather to signify the extreme profundity of the supreme Essence, the cause of the world. With this view the author intimates by this turn of expression the difficulty which persons who are not versed in the deep Scriptures have, in comprehending such subjects. The same intention is manifested in the preceding mantras *ko addhā veda,* etc. (*'who knows?'* etc.) In the texts *oshade,* etc. (*'o herb,'* etc.), also the deities who preside

over these several objects are addressed by these several names. These deities are referred to by the venerable Bādarāyana in the aphorism *abhimāni-ryapadeśah*. As Rudra, though only one, assumes by his power a thousand forms, there is no contradiction between the different texts which relate to him. And though the moistening, etc., of the head by water, etc., is a matter of common notoriety, yet as the goodwill of the god who resides in these objects is not generally known, the text in question, by having that for its subject, is declaratory of what is unknown. Hence the Mantra portion of the Veda, being shown to have the characteristic mark [of constituting proof], is authoritative."

Sāyana then, in p. 11 of his Preface, proceeds to extend his argument to the Brahmanas, and concludes (p. 19) that the authority of the whole Veda is proved.

II.—The second passage which I shall quote is from the Vedārtha-prakāśa of Mādhava Āchāryya on the Taittirīya Yajurveda (pp. 1 ff. in the Bibliotheca Indica). Mādhava was the brother of Sāyana, and flourished in the middle of the 14th century. (Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 301.) *Nanu ko'yaṁ vedo nāma ke vā asya vishaya-prayojana-sambandhādhiphikāriṇaḥ ka-thaṁ vā tasya prāmāṇyam | na khalo etasmin sarvasminn asati vedo vyākhyāna-yogyo bhavati | Atrochyate | Ishṭaprāpti-anishṭa-parihārayor alaukikam upāyaṁ yo grantho vedayati sa vedaḥ | Alaukika-padena pratyakṣānumāne vyārartyete | Anubhūyamānasya sraṅg-chandana-ranītāder ishṭa-prāpti-hetutvam aushadha-sevāder anishṭa-parihāra-hetutvaṁcha pratyakṣa-siddham | Srenānubhavishyamānasya puruṣāntara-gatasya cha tathāttram anumāna-gamyam | Ekaṁ tarhi bhāri-janma-gata-sukhādikam api anumāna-gamyam iti chet | na | tadviśeṣasya anavagamāt | Na khalu jyotiṣṭomādīr ishṭaprāptihetur kālāṅga-bharaṇa-var-janādīr anishṭaparihāra-hetur ity anum artham veda-ryatire-kena anumāna-sahasrenāpi tārkaika-śiromanir apy asyāragan-tuṁ śaknoti | Tasmād alaukikopāya-bodhako veda iti laxanasya nātivyāptaṁ | ata evoktam | ' Pratyakṣenānumityā vā yas tūpāyo na budhyate | Etaṁ vindanti vedena tasmād vedasya vedatā' |*

iti | sa evopāyo vedasya vishayah | tadbodha eva prayojanam |
 tadbodhārthi cha adbhikārī | tena saha upakāryyopakāraka-bhā-
 vah sambandhaḥ | nanu evaṁ sati strī-śūdra-sahitāḥ sarve vedā-
 dhikāriṇaḥ syur iṣṭam me syād anisṭam mā bhūd iti āśishah
 sārva-janīnatrāt | mairam | strī-śūdrayoḥ saty upāye bodhār-
 thitve hetvantareṇa vedādhikārasya pratibaddhatrāt | upanīta-
 syaira adhyayanādhikāram bruvat śāstram anupanītayoḥ strī-
 śūdrayoḥ vedādhyayanam anisṭa-prāpti-hetur iti bodhayati |
 katham tarhi tayos tadupāyāvagamah | purāṇādibhir iti brā-
 mah | ata evoktam | strī-śūdra-dvijabandhūnām trayi na śruti-
 gocharā | iti Bhāratam ākhyānam muninā kṛipayā kṛitam | iti |
 tasmād upanītur eva traivarnīkair vedasya sambandhaḥ | tat-
 prāmāṇyantu bodhakatvāt śruta eva siddham | pauruṣeya-vāk-
 yantu bodhakam api sat puruṣa-gatu-bhrānti-mūlutra-sambhā-
 vanayā tatparihārāya mūla-pramāṇam apexate na tu veduḥ,
 tasya nityatreṇa vaktri-dosha-śaṅkānudayāt | . . . Nanu vedo
 'pi Kūlidāsādi-vākyaivat pauruṣeya eva Brahma-kāryyatva-
 śraṇāt | 'richah sāmāni jājūire | chhundām̐si jājūire tas-
 mād yajus tasmād ajāyata' iti śruteḥ | ata eva Bādarāya-
 nah 'śāstrayonitvāt' iti sūtreṇa Brahmano veda-kāraṇatvam
 avocāt | mairam | śrutismṛitibhyām̐ nityatvācagamāt | 'cāchā
 Virūpa nityayā' iti śruteḥ | 'anādi-nidhanā nityā cāg utsṛiṣṭā
 svayambhūnā' iti smṛiteścha | Bādarāyano 'pi devatādhika-
 rāṇe sūtrayām̐sa 'ata eva cha nityatvam' iti | tarhi pa-
 raspara-virodha iti chet | na | nityatvasya vyārahārikatvāt
 sṛiṣṭer ūrdhvaṁ saṁhārāt pūrram vyarahāra-kālas tasmin
 utpatti-vināśadarśanāt | kālūkāśūdayo yathā nityā evaṁ vedo
 'pi vyarahāra-kāle Kūlidāsādi-vākyaivat puruṣa-virachitvā-
 bhāvād nityaḥ | ādisṛiṣṭau tu kālūkāśūdivad eva Brahmanah
 sakāśād vedotpattir āmnāyat | ato vishaya-bhedād na paraspara-
 virodhaḥ | Brahmano nirdoshatvena vedasya vaktri-doshābhāvāt
 svatassiddham prāmāṇyam̐ tadavastham | tasmāl laxaṇa-pra-
 māṇa-sadbhāvād vishaya-prayojana-sambandhādhikāri-sadbhāvāt
 prāmāṇyasya sūtatvāchcha vedo vyākhatavya eva.

“ Now, some may ask, what is this Veda, or what are its sub-

ject-matter, its use, its connection, or the persons who are competent to study it? and how is it authoritative? For, in the absence of all these conditions, the Veda does not deserve to be expounded. I reply : the book which makes known (*vedayati*) the supernatural (*lit.* non-secular) means of obtaining desirable objects, and getting rid of undesirable objects, is the Veda. By the employment of the word *supernatural*, [the two ordinary means of information, viz.] *perception* and *inference*, are excluded. By *perception* it is established that such things as garlands, sandal wood, and women are causes of gratification, and that the use of medicines and so forth is the means of getting rid of suffering. And we ascertain by *inference* that we shall in future experience, and that other men now experience, the same things. If it be asked whether, then, the happiness, etc., of a future birth be not in the same way ascertainable by inference, I reply that it is not, because we cannot get beyond generalities. Not even the most brilliant ornament of the logical school could, by a thousand inferences, without the help of the Vedas, discover the truths that the *jyotish'homa* and other sacrifices are the means of attaining happiness, and that abstinence from the flesh of an animal³³ struck with a poisoned arrow is the means of removing uneasiness. Thus it is not too wide a definition of the Veda to say that it is *that which indicates supernatural expedients*. Hence, it has been said, 'men discover by the Veda those expedients which cannot be ascertained by perception or inference; and this is the characteristic feature of the Veda.' These expedients, then, form the *subject* of the Veda; [to teach] the knowledge of them is its *use*; the person who seeks that knowledge is the *competent student*; and the *connection* of the Veda with such a student is that of a benefactor with the individual who is to be benefitted.

" But, if such be the case, it may be said that all persons

³³ The only other sense of the word *kalaija* in Boettlinger and Roth's *Lexicon* is *tobacco*. It may be doubtful, however, if that weed was known in India when this commentary was written; and perhaps the illustration may be a traditional one, derived from an earlier age. See Müller in the *Z. D. M. G.* vii. pp. 376, 377.

whatever, including women and sūdras, must be competent students of the Veda, since the aspiration after good and the deprecation of evil are common to the whole of mankind. But it is not so. For though the expedient exists, and women and sūdras are desirous to know it, they are debarred by another cause from being competent students of the Veda. The scripture (*śāstra*) which declares that those persons only who have been invested with the sacrificial cord are competent to read the Veda, intimates thereby that the same study would be a cause of unhappiness to women and sūdras [who are not so invested]. How, then, are these two classes of persons to discover the means of future happiness? We answer, from the Puranas and other such works. Hence it has been said, 'since the triple Veda may not be heard by women, sūdras, and degraded twice-born men, the Mahābhārata was, in his benevolence, composed by the Muni.' The Veda, therefore, has only a relation to men of the three superior classes who have obtained investiture.

"Then the authority of the Veda is self-evident, from the fact of its communicating knowledge. For though the words of men also communicate knowledge, still, as they must be conceived to participate in the fallibility of their authors, they require some primary authority to remedy that fallibility. But such is not the case with the Veda; for as that had no beginning, it is impossible to suspect any defect in the utterer. . . .

"A doubt may, however, be raised whether the Veda is not, like the works of Kālidāsa and others, *derived from a personal being*,³⁴ as it is said in the Veda to have been formed by Brahma, according to the text, 'the Rik and Sāma verses, the metres sprang from him; from him the Yajush was produced';³⁵ in consequence of which Bādarāyana, in the aphorism³⁶ 'since he is the source of the śāstra,' has pronounced that Brahma is the cause of the Veda.

³⁴ This seems to be the only way to translate *pauruṣeya*, as *puruṣa* cannot here mean a human being.

³⁵ R. V. x. 90, 9, quoted in the first Part of this work, pp. 7, 8.

³⁶ Brahma Sūtras, i. 1, 3, p. 7 of Dr. Ballantyne's Apherisms of the Vedānta.

But this doubt is groundless ; for the eternity of the Veda has been declared both by itself, in the text, 'with an eternal voice, o Virūpa,'³⁷ and by the Smṛiti in the verse 'an eternal voice, without beginning or end, was uttered by the Self-existent.'³⁸ Bādarāyana, too, in his section on the deities (Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 29) has this aphorism, 'hence also [its] eternity [is to be maintained].' If it be objected that these authorities are mutually conflicting, I answer, No. For [in the passages where] the word *eternity* is applied to the Vedas, it is to be understood as referring to the period of action [or mundane existence]. This period is that which commences with the creation, and lasts till the destruction of the universe, since, during this interval, no worlds are seen to originate, or to be destroyed. Just as time and ether (space) are eternal, so also is the Veda eternal, because, during the period of mundane existence, it has not been composed by any person, as the works of Kālidāsa and others have been.³⁹ Nevertheless, the Veda, like time and space, is

³⁷ These words are part of Rig-veda, viii 61, 6: — *Tasmai nānam abhidyare vāchā Virūpa nityayā | vṛshur chodasra sushṭutam* "Send forth praises to this heaven-aspiring and prolific Agni, o Virūpa, with an unceasing voice [or hymn]." The word *nityayā* seems to mean nothing more than *continual*, though in the text I have rendered it *eternal*, as the author's reasoning seems to require. Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. i. 306), however, translates it by "*perpetual*." I shall again quote and illustrate this verse further on.

³⁸ This line, from the M. Bh. S'āntip, 8,533, has been already cited above in p. 4. The Calcutta text, from which I have there quoted, gives *vidyā* instead of *nityā*, the reading of the Vedārtha-prakāśa in this passage. It is possible that the line may be found also in some of the Puranas.

³⁹ The same subject is touched on by Sūyana, at p. 20 of his commentary, in these words: — *Nanu bhagavatā Bādarāyaneṇa Vedasya Brahma-lāryyatvān sūtritam | 'śāstra-yonirūd' iti | rigvedādi-śāstra-kāraṇatrūd Brahma sarvajñam iti sūtrārthaḥ | bāḍham | na etavatā pauruṣeayatram bhavati | manushya-nirmitatvābhāvāt | idṛśam apauruṣeayatram abhipretya vyarahūna-daśūyām ākūśūdi-rad nityatevam Bādarāyaneṇaiva devatūdhikarane sūtritam | 'ata eva nityatvam' iti.* "But it is objected that the venerable Bādarāyana has declared in the aphorism 'since he is the source of the śāstra' (Brahma Sūtras i 1, 3), that the Veda is derived from Brahma ; the meaning of the aphorism being, that since Brahma is the cause of the Rig-veda and other S'ūtras, he is omniscient. This is true ; but it is not sufficient to prove the human origin of the Veda, since it was not formed by a man. Bādarāyana had in view such a superhuman origin of the Veda, when in the [other] aphorism 'hence also [its] eternity is to be maintained,' (which is contained in the section on the deities), he declared its eternity, like that of space, etc., during the period of mundane existence."

recorded in Scripture to have originated from Brahma at the first creation. There is, therefore, no discrepancy between the two different sets of passages, as they refer to different objects. And since Brahma is free from defect, the utterer of the Veda is consequently free from defect; and therefore a self-evincing authority resides in it. Seeing, therefore, that the Veda possesses a characteristic mark, and is supported by proof, and that it has a subject, a use, a relation, and persons competent for its study, and, moreover, that its authority is established, it follows that it ought to be interpreted."

SECT. VII.—*Arguments of the Mīmāṃsakas and Vedāntins in support of the eternity and authority of the Vedas.*

I shall now proceed to adduce some of the reasonings by which the authors of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, and Vedānta aphorisms, and their commentators, defend the doctrine which, as we have already seen, is held by some of the Indian writers, that the Vedas are eternal, as well as infallible.

I. *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*.—I quote the following texts of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā which relate to this subject from Dr. Ballantyne's aphorisms of the Mīmāṃsā, pp. 8 ff. I do not always follow the words of Dr. Ballantyne's translations, though I have made free use of their substance. (See also Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 306, or p. 195 of W. and N's. edit.) The commentator introduces the subject in the following way:—*Śabdārthayor utpattyanantaram puruṣeṇa kalpita-saṅketātmaka-sambandhasya kalpitatvāt puruṣa-kalpita-sambandha-jñānāpexitrāt 'śabdāsya yathā prat-*

The remarks of Śāṅkara on the Brahma Sūtra (i. 1, 3) above referred to, begin as follows:—*Mahatā ṛig-vedādeḥ śāstrasya aneka-vidyā-sthānopabhrūṇhitasya pradīpa-
cat sarvārtha-dyotinas sarvajña-kalpasya yonih kūrāṇam Brahma | na hi īdrisasya
śāstrasya ṛigvedādi-lakṣaṇasya sarvajña-guṇānṛitasya sarvajñād anyataḥ sambhavo 'sti.*
"Brahma is the source of a great Śāstra, consisting of the Rig-veda, etc., augmented by numerous branches of science, which, like a lamp, illuminates all subjects, and approaches to omniscience. Now such a Śāstra, distinguished as the Rig-veda, etc., possessed of the qualities of an omniscient being, could not have originated from any other than an omniscient being." See Dr. Ballantyne's Vedānta Aphorisms, pp. 7, 8.

yaxa-jñānam śuktikādan satyatvam ryabhīcharati tathā purushādhīnotrena śabde 'pi satyatva-ryabhīchāra-sambhavāt na dharme chodonā pramāṇam iti pūrva-paxe siddhāntam āha. “ Since, subsequently to the production of words and things, a conventional connection has been established between the two by the will of man, and since language is dependent upon a knowledge of this conventional connection determined by man, [it follows that] as *perception* is liable to error in respect of mother-of-pearl and similar objects [by mistaking them for silver], so words also may be open to convey unreal notions from [their sense] being dependant on human will ; and consequently that the Vedic precepts [which are expressed in such words, possessing a merely conventional and arbitrary meaning] cannot be authoritative in matters of duty. Such is an objection which may be urged, and in reply to which the author of the aphorisms declares the established doctrine.”

Then follows the fifth aphorism of the first chapter of the first book of the *Mīmāṃsā* :—*Autpattikastu^(a) śabdasya^(b) arthena sambandhas^(c) tasya^(d) jñānam^(e) upadeśo^(f) 'ryatirekaścha^(g) arthe 'nupalabdh^(h) tat⁽ⁱ⁾ pramāṇam Bādarāyaṇasya anapekṣatvāt* | which may be paraphrased as follows :—“ The connection of a word with its sense is coeval with the origin of both. In consequence of this connection the words of the Veda convey a knowledge of duty, and impart unerring instruction in regard to matters imperceptible. Such Vedic injunctions constitute the proof of duty admitted by Bādarāyana, author of the *Vedānta Sūtras*, for this proof is independent of perception and all other evidence.”

I subjoin most of the remarks of the scholiast as given by Dr. Ballantyne, indicating by letters the words of the aphorism to which they refer.

(a) *Autpattikaḥ* | *svābhāvikah* | *nitya iti yāvat* | “ *Autpattika* (original) means natural, eternal in short.

(b) *Śabdasya* | *nitya-veda-ghaṭaka-padasya 'agnihotraṁ juhuyāt svarga-kāma' ityādeḥ.* “ *Śabda* (word) refers to terms

which form part of the eternal veda, such as, 'the man who desires heaven should perform the Agnihotra sacrifice.'"

(c) *Sambandha* (connection) "in the nature of power," i.e. according to Dr. Ballantyne, depending on the divine will that such and such words should convey such and such meanings.

(d) *Atas tasya | dharmasya* | "'Hence' is to be supplied before 'this,' which refers to 'duty.'"

(e) *Jñānam | atra karane lyut | jñapter yathārtha-jñānasya karaṇam*. "In the word *jñāna* (knowledge) the affix *lyut* has the force of 'instrument,' 'an instrument of correct knowledge.'"

(f) *Upadeśaḥ | artha-pratipādanam*. "Instruction, i.e. the establishment of a fact."

(g) *Aryatirkaḥ | aśvabhīrharī dṛśyate ataḥ*. "'Unerring,' i.e. that which is seen not to deviate therefrom."

(h) *Nann 'rahnīmān' iti śabda-śraṇānantaram pratyaxena rañnīm dṛśiteā śabde pramātraṁ grīhṇāti iti loke prasiddheḥ pratyaxālitara-pramāṇa-sāpexateāt śabdasya sa kuthaṁ dharme pramāṇam ata āha anupalabdhe iti | anupalabdhe pratyaxādi-pramāṇair ajñāte 'rthe*. "Since it is a matter of notoriety that any one who has heard the words '[the mountain is] fiery' uttered, and afterwards sees the fire with his own eyes, is *then* [more than ever] convinced of the authority of the words, it may be asked how words which are thus dependent [for confirmation] on perception and other proofs, can themselves constitute the proof of duty? In reference to this, the word *anupalabdhe* ('in regard to matters imperceptible') is introduced. It signifies 'matters which cannot be known by perception and other such proofs.'"

(i) *Tut | vidhi-ghaṭita-vākyaṁ dharme pramāṇam Bādarāyaṇ-āchāryasya sammatam | ayam āśayaḥ | 'pareto rañnīmān' iti doshavat-purusha-prayuktam vākyaṁ arthaṁ vyabhīcharati | ataḥ prāmāṇya-niśchaye pratyaxādikam aperature | tathā 'gnihotraṁ juhōti iti vākyaṁ kāla-traye 'py arthaṁ na vyabhīcharati | ata itara-nirapeṇaṁ dharme pramāṇam*. "This, i.e. a [Vedic]

sentence consisting of an injunction, is regarded by Bādarāyana also as proof of duty. The purport is this. The sentence, 'the mountain is fiery,' when uttered by a person defective [in his organ of vision], may deviate from the reality; it therefore requires the evidence of our senses, etc., to aid us in determining its sufficiency as proof. Whereas the Vedic sentence regarding the performance of the Agnihotra sacrifice can never deviate from the truth in any time, past, present, or future; and is therefore a proof of duty, independently of any other evidence."

The commentator then proceeds to observe as follows:—*Pūrvasūtre śabdārthayos sambandho nitya ity uktam | tathcha śabdānityatrādhīnam iti tat sisādhayishur ādau śabdānityatra-rādimatam pūrva-paxam upādayati.* "In the preceding aphorism it was declared that the connection of words and their meanings [or the things signified by them] is eternal. Desiring now to prove that this [eternity of connection] is dependent on the eternity of words [or sound], he begins by setting forth the first side of the question, viz., the doctrine of those who maintain that sound is not eternal."

This doctrine is accordingly declared in the six following aphorisms (*sūtras*), which I shall quote and paraphrase, without citing, in the original, the accompanying comments. These the reader will find in Dr. Ballantyne's work.

Sūtra 6.—Karma eke tatra darśanāt. "Some, i.e. the followers of the Nyāya philosophy, say that sound is a product, because we see that it is the result of effort, which it would not be if it were eternal."

Sūtra 7.—Asthānāt. "That it is not eternal, on account of its transitoriness, i.e. because, after a moment it ceases to be perceived."

Sūtra 8.—Karoti-śabdāt. "Because we employ in reference to it the expression *making*, i.e. we speak of *making* a sound."

Sūtra 9.—Sattrāntare gaṅgapadāt. "Because it is per-

ceived by different persons at once, and is consequently in immediate contact with the organs of sense of those both far and near, which it could not be if it were one and eternal."

Sūtra 10.—Prakṛiti-cikṛityoścha. "Because sounds have both an original and a modified form; as, *e.g.* in the case of *dadhi atra*, which is changed into *dadhy atra*, the original letter *i* being altered into *y* by the rules of permutation. Now, no substance which undergoes a change is eternal."

Sūtra 11.—Vṛiddhiścha kartri-bhūmnā 'śya. "Because sound is augmented by the number of those who make it. Consequently the opinion of the Mīmāṃsakas, who say that sound is merely *manifested*, and not *created*, by human effort, is wrong, since even a thousand *manifesters* do not increase the object which they *manifest*, as a jar is not made larger by a thousand lamps."

These objections against the Mīmāṃsaka theory that sound is manifested, and not created, by those who utter it, are controverted in the following Sūtras:—

Sūtra 12.—Samañ tu tatra darśanam. "But, according to both schools, viz., that which holds sound to be *created*, and that which regards it as merely *manifested*, the perception of it is alike momentary. But of these two views, the theory of manifestation is shown in the next aphorism to be the correct one."

Sūtra 13.—Sataḥ param adarśanañ vishayānāgamat. "The non-perception, at any particular time, of sound, which, in reality, perpetually exists, arises from the fact that the utterer of sound has not come into contact with his object, *i.e.* sound. Sound is eternal, because we recognise the letter *k*, for instance, to be the same sound which we have always heard, and because it is the simplest method of accounting for the phenomenon to suppose that it is the same. The still atmosphere which interferes with the perception of sound, is removed by the conjunctions and disjunctions of air issuing from a speaker's mouth, and thus sound (which always exists, though unperceived) becomes

perceptible.⁴⁰ This is the reply to the objection of its 'transitoriness' (Sūtra 7)."

An answer to Sūtra 8 is given in

Sūtra 14.—*Prayogasya param*. "The word '*making*' sounds, merely means employing or uttering them."

The objection made in Sūtra 9 is answered in

Sūtra 15.—*Āditya-rad yangayadyam*. "One sound is simultaneously heard by different persons, just as one sun is seen by them at one and the same time. Sound, like the sun, is a vast, and not a minute object, and thus may be perceptible by different persons, though remote from one another."

An answer to Sūtra 10 is contained in

Sūtra 16.—*Varnāntaram acikārah*. "The letter *y*, which is substituted for *i* in the instance referred to under Sūtra 10, is not a modification of *i*, but a distinct letter. Consequently sound is not modified."

The 11th Sūtra is answered in

Sūtra 17.—*Nāda-riddhiḥ parā*. "It is an increase of *noise*, not of *sound*, that is occasioned by a multitude of speakers. The word *noise* refers to the 'conjunctions and disjunctions of the air' (mentioned under Sūtra 13), which enter simultaneously into the hearer's ear from different quarters; and it is of these that an increase takes place."

The next following Sūtras state the reasons which support the Mīmāṃsaka view:—

Sūtra 18.—*Nityastu syād darśanasya parārthatrāt*. "Sound must be eternal, because its utterance is intended to convey a meaning to other persons. If it were not eternal [or abiding], it would not continue till the hearer had learned its sense, and thus he would not learn the sense, because the cause had ceased to exist."

⁴⁰ "Sound is unobserved, though existent, if it reach not the object (vibrations of air emitted from the mouth of the speaker proceed and manifest sound by their appulse to air at rest in the space bounded by the hollow of the ear; for want of such appulse, sound, though existent, is unapprehended)."—Colebrooke i. 306.

Sūtra 19.—Sarvatra yangapadyāt. “Sound is eternal, because it is in every case correctly understood by many persons simultaneously; and it is inconceivable that they should all at once fall into a mistake.”

When the word *go* (cow) has been repeated ten times, the hearers will say that the word *go* has been ten times pronounced, not that ten words having the sound of *go* have been uttered; and this fact also is adduced as a proof of the eternity of sound in

Sūtra 20.—Saṅkhyābhārat. “Because each sound is not numerically different from itself repeated.”

Sūtra 21.—Anapeksat. “Sound is eternal, because we have no ground for anticipating its destruction.”

“But it may be urged that sound is a modification of air, since it arises from its conjunctions (see *Sūtra 17*), and because the *Śikshā* (or *Vedāṅga* treating of pronunciation) says that ‘air arrives at the condition of sound;’ and as it is thus produced from air, it cannot be eternal.” A reply to this difficulty is given in

Sūtra 22.—Prakhyābhācāchcha yogyasya. “Sound is not a modification of air, because, if it were, the organ of hearing would have no appropriate object which it could perceive. No modification of air (held by the *Naiyāyikas* to be *tangible*) could be perceived by the organ of hearing, which deals only with intangible sound.”

Sūtra 23.—Linga-darśanāchcha. “And the eternity of sound is established by the argument discoverable in the Vedic text, ‘with an eternal voice, o Virūpa.’ (See above, p. 51). Now, though this sentence had another object in view, it, nevertheless, repeats the eternity of language, and hence sound is eternal.”

“But though words, as well as the connection of word and sense, be eternal, it may be objected—as in the following aphorism—that a command conveyed in the form of a sentence is no proof of duty.”

Sūtra 24.—Utpattau vā rachanāḥ syur arthasya atannimitatāt. “Though there be a natural connection between words

and their meanings, the connection between *sentences* and their meanings is a factitious one, established by human will, from these meanings (of the sentences) not arising out of the meanings of the words. The connection of sentences with their meanings is not (like the connection of words with their meanings) one derived from inherent *power* (see Sūtra 5, remark ^(c), above, p. 54), but one devised by men; how, then, can this connection afford a sufficient authority for duty?"

An answer to this is given in

Sūtra 25.—*Tad-bhūtānām kṛiyārthena samāmnāyo 'rthasya tannimittatvāt.* "The various terms which occur in every Vedic precept are accompanied by a verb, because a perception (such as we had not before) of the sense of a sentence is derived from a collection of words involving a verb. For a precept is not comprehended unless the individual words which make it up are understood; and the comprehension of the meaning of a sentence is nothing else than the comprehension of the exact mutual relation of the meanings arising out of each word."

Sūtra 26.—*Loke sanniyamāt prayoga-sannikarshaḥ syāt.* "As in secular language the application of words is fixed, so also in the Veda they must be employed in an established sense which has been handed down by tradition."

The author now proceeds in the next following Sūtras to state and to obviate certain objections raised to his dogmas of the eternity and authority of the Vedas.

Sūtra 27.—*Vedāṃśchaitke sannikarsham purushākhyāḥ.* "Some (the followers of the Nyāya) declare the Vedas to be of recent origin, *i.e.* not eternal, because the names of men are applied to certain parts of them, as the Kāṭhaka and Kauthuma."

This Sūtra, with some of those which follow, is quoted in Sāyana's commentary on the R. V. vol. i. pp. 19 and 20. His explanation of the present Sūtra is as follows:—

Yathā Raghuramśādaya idānīntanūs tathā vedā api | na tu vedā anādayaḥ | ata eva veda-kartrītvēna purushā ākhyāyante | Vaiyāsikam Bhārataṃ Vālmikīyaṃ Rāmāyaṇam ity atra yathā

Bhāratādi-karṭṛitena Vyāsādaya ākhyāyante tathā Kāthakāṁ Kauthumāṁ Taittirīyakam ity evaṁ tattad-veda-śākhā-karṭṭritena Kāṭhādīnām ākhyātatrāt pauruṣheyāḥ | Nānu nityānām eva vedānām upādhyāya-vat sampradāya-pravarṭtakatvena Kāṭhākādi-sāmākhya syād ity āśaṅkya yuktyantaram sūtrayati | kā turhi Kāṭhakādyākhyaṇikāyā gatir ity āśaṅkya sampradāya-pravarṭtanāt sā iyaṁ upapadyate. “Some say, that as the Raghuvansa, etc., are modern, so also are the Vedas, and that the Vedas are not eternal. Accordingly, certain men are named as the authors of the Vedas. Just as in the case of the Mahābhārata, which is called *Vaiyāsaka* (composed by Vyāsa), and the Rāmāyana, which is called *Vālmīkiya* (composed by Vālmīki), Vyāsa and Vālmīki are indicated as the authors of these poems; so, too, Katha, Kuthumi, and Tittiri are shown to be the authors of those particular Śākhās of the Vedas which bear their names, viz., the *Kāthaka*, *Kauthuma*, and *Taittirīya*; and consequently those parts of the Vedas are of human origin. In answer to this it is suggested that the Vedas, though eternal, have received the name of *Kāthaka*, etc., because Katha and others, as teachers, handed them down.”

This interpretation is accepted a little further on, in the remarks on one of the following Sūtras:—“What, then, is the fact in reference to the appellations *Kāthaka*, etc.? It is proved to have arisen from the circumstance that Katha, etc., handed down the Vedas.”

Sūtra 28.—Anitya-darśanāchcha. “It is also objected that the Vedas cannot be eternal, because we observe that persons, who are not eternal, but subject to birth and death, are mentioned in them. Thus it is said in the Veda ‘Babara Prāvahani desired,’ ‘Kusurubinda Auddālaki desired.’ Now, as the words of the Veda in which they are mentioned could not have existed before these persons were born, it is clear that these words had a beginning, and being thus non-eternal, they are proved to be of human origin.” (*‘Babaraḥ Prāvahanir akāmayata’ ‘Kusuruvinda Auddālakir akāmayata’ ityādi vedesku darśanāt teshām*

jananāt prāg imāni cākyāni nāsann iti sādītvād anityatvam parurushyatvañcha siddham.)

These objections are answered in the following aphorisms :—

Sūtra 29.—Uktantu śabda-pūrvratram. “But the priority—eternity—of sound has been declared, and, by consequence, the eternity of the Veda.”

Sūtra 30.—Ākhyā pravachanāt. “The names derived from those of particular men, attached to certain parts of the Vedas, were given on account of their studying those particular parts. Thus the portion read by Katha was called *Kāthaka*, etc.”

Sūtra 31.—Parantu śrutiḥ sāmānyam. “And names occurring in the Veda, which appear to be those of men, are appellations common to other beings besides men.”

“Thus the words *Babara Prārahanī* are not the names of a man, but have another meaning. For the particle *pra* denotes ‘pre-eminence,’ *rahana* means ‘motion,’ and the letter *i* represents the agent; consequently the word *prārahanī* signifies that which moves swiftly, and is applied to the wind, which is eternal. *Babara* again is a word imitating the sound of the wind. Thus there is not even a semblance of error in the assertion that the Veda is eternal.” (*Yadyapi Babarah Prārahanī ity asti parantu śrutiḥ prārahanīyādi-śabdah sāmānyam | anyārthasyāpi vāchakam | tathā hi | ‘pra’ ityasya utkarshāśrayah | ‘rahana’ śabdasya gatiḥ | ikārah karttā | tathā cha utkrishṭa-gatyāśrayo vāyu-parah | sa cha anādīḥ | Babara iti vāyu-śabdānukaranam iti na anupapatti-gandho ‘pi.*)

Before proceeding to the 32nd Sūtra, I shall quote some further illustrations of the 31st, which are to be found in certain passages of the Introduction to Sāyana’s Commentary on the Rig-veda, where he is explaining another section of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. The passages are as follows (p. 7) :—

Anitya-saṁyogad mantrānarthakyaṁ | ‘kīm te kṛṇvanti kīka-ṭeṣhv’ iti mantre kīkaṭo nāma janapada āmnātāḥ | Tathā naicha-śākhaṁ nāma nagaram pramagando nāma rājā ity etc ‘rthā anityā āmnātāḥ | Tathā cha satī prāk pramagandūd na ayam

mantra bhūta-pūrva iti gamyate. And in p. 10 :—*Yad apy uktam pramagandādy-anityārtha-saṁyogād mantrasya anāditecāṁ na syād iti tatrottaram sūtrayati | Uktas' chānitya-saṁyoga iti | prathama-pādasya antimādlikarāṇe so 'yam anitya saṁyoga-dosha uktas' parihṛitaḥ | Tathā hi | tatra pūrva-paśc Vedānām pauruṣeyatraṁ vaktuṁ kāthakaṁ kālāpakam ity ādi puruṣa-sambandhābhīdhānaṁ hetukṛitya 'anityadarśanāchcha' iti hetvantaraṁ sūtritam | 'Babaraḥ prārahanir akāmayata' ity anityānām Babarādīnām arthānām durśanāt tataḥ pūreṣu asattvāt pauruṣeḥyo veda iti tasya uttaraṁ sūtritam 'paraṁ tu śruti-sāmānya-mātram' iti | tasya ayam arthas' | yat kāthakādisamākhyānām tat prarachana-nimittam | yat tu param Babarādyanitya-darśanaṁ tat śabda-sāmānya-mātraṁ na tu tatra Babarākhyas' kaścit puruṣo viraṇitaḥ | kintu 'babara' iti śabdaṁ kurvan vāyur abhīdhīyate | saccha prārahanir | prakarṣhena vakana-śīlaḥ | Eṣam anyatrāpy ūhaniyam.* “It is objected that the mantras are useless, because they are connected with temporal objects. Thus in the text, ‘what are thy cows doing among the Kikatas?’ (see Part Second, p. 362), a country called Kikata is mentioned, as well as a city named Naichasākha, and a king called Pramaganda, all of them non-eternal objects. Such being the case, it is clear that this text did not exist before Pramaganda.” The answer to this is given in p. 10. “To the further objection that the mantras cannot be eternal, because such temporal objects as Pramaganda, etc., are referred to in them, an answer is given in the following Sūtra :—‘The connection with non-eternal objects has been already explained.’ In the last section of the first book, this very objection of the hymns being connected with non-eternal things has been stated and obviated (see above, Sūtras 28-31). For in the statement of objections, after it has first been suggested as a proof of the human origin of the Vedas, that they bear names, Kāthaka, Kālāpaka, etc., denoting their relation to men, a further difficulty is stated in a Sūtra, viz., that ‘it is noticed that non-eternal objects are mentioned in the Vedas;’ as, for example,

where it is said that ‘*Babara Prāvahani* desired.’ Now, as it specifies non-eternal objects of this kind, the *Veda*, which could not have existed before those objects, must be of human origin. The answer to this is given in the aphorism, ‘any further names are to be understood as common to other things.’ The meaning is this: the names *Kāthaka*, etc., are given to the *Vedas* because they were expounded by *Katha*, etc.; and the further difficulty arising from the names of *Babara* and other objects supposed to be non-eternal, is removed by such names being common to other objects [which are eternal in their nature]. No persons called *Babara*, etc., are intended by those names, for *babara* is an imitation of a sound. Hence it designates the wind, which makes the sound *babara*. And *prāvahani* refers to the same object, as it means that which *mores swiftly*. The same method of explanation is to be applied in other similar cases.”

I proceed to the 32nd Sūtra. It is asked how the *Veda* can constitute proof of duty when it contains such incoherent nonsense as the following: “*Jaradgava*, in blanket slippers, is standing at the door and singing benedictions. A Brahman female, desirous of offspring, asks, ‘Pray, sir, what is the meaning of intercourse on the day of the new moon?’ or the following: ‘the cows attended this sacrifice.’” A reply is contained in

Sūtra 32.—Kṛite rā ciniyogaḥ syāt karmaṇaḥ sambandhāt.
“The expressions to which objection is taken may be applicable to the duty to be performed, from the relation in which they stand to the ceremony.”

As a different reading and interpretation of this Sūtra are given by Sāyana in his Commentary, p. 20, I shall quote it, and the remarks with which he introduces and follows it.

Nanu vede krachid evaṁ śrūyate ‘vanaspatayaḥ satram āsata sarpāḥ satram āsata’ iti | tatra vanaspatīnām achetanatrūt sar-pāṇāṁ chetanatre ’pi vidyārahitatatrād na tad-anushkṛhānaṁ sambhavati | Ato ‘Jaradgaro gāyati madrakāṇi’ ityādy-unmatta-bāla-vākya-sadṛiṣatvāt kenachit kṛito veda ity āśaṅkya uttaraṁ

sūtrayati | ‘*Kṛite cha aviniyogaḥ syāt karmanāḥ samatrāt*’ | *Yadi jyotishtomādi-vākyaṁ kenachit puruṣeṇa kriyeta tadānīm kṛite tasmin vākyaḥ svarga-sādhanatre jyotishtomasya viniyogaḥ na syāt* | *sādhya-sādhana-bhāvasya puruṣeṇa jñātum aśakyat-rāt* | *śrūyate tu viniyogaḥ* | ‘*jyotishtomena svarga-kāmo yajeta*’ *iti* | *na cha etat unmatta-vākya-sadriśaṁ laukika-cidhi-vākya-vad bhārya-karaneti-kartaryatā-rūpais tribhir aṁśair upetāyā bhāranāyā aragamāt* | *loke hi ‘brāhmaṇān bhojayed’ iti vidhau kiṁ kena katham ity ākāṅkṣyām tṛiptim uddiśya odanena dravyeṇa śuka-sūpādi-pariveshana-prakāreṇa iti yathochyate* | *jyotishtoma-cidhāc api scargam uddiśya somena dravyeṇa dīraṇīyā-dy-angopakāra-prakāreṇa ityukto katham unmatta-vākya-sadriśam bhaved iti* | *vanaspatyādi-satra-vākyaṁ api na tat-sadriśaṁ tasya satra-karmano jyotishtomādinnā samatrāt* | *yat-paro hi śabdah sa śabdārtha ity nyāya-cidu āhuh* | *jyotishtomādi-vākyaṣya vidhāyakatrād anuṣṭhāne tātparyyam* | *vanaspatyādi-satra-vākyaṣya arthavādatrād prāśaṁsāyām tatparyam* | *sā cha avidyamānenāpi karttuṁ śakyate* | *achetanā acidcāṁso ’pi satram anuṣṭhitarantaḥ kim punaś chetanā cidrāṁso brāhmaṇā ity satra-stutiḥ*. “But it will be objected that the Veda contains such sentences as this—‘trees and serpents attended at the sacrifice.’ Now, since trees are insensible, and serpents, though possessing sensibility, are destitute of knowledge, it is inconceivable that either the one or the other should assist at the ceremony. Hence, from its resembling the silly talk of madmen and children, as where it says, ‘Jaradgava sings songs fit only for the Madras’ (see Part Second, pp. 481 ff.), the Veda must have been composed by some man. The answer to this doubt is contained in the following Sūtra (which I can only render by a paraphrase):—‘If prescribed by mere human authority, no rite can have any efficacy; but such ceremonies as the jyotishtoma rest on the authority of the Veda; and texts such as that regarding the *trees* and *serpents* have the same intention, i.e. to commend sacrifice.’ If the sentence enjoining the *jyotishtoma* sacrifice had been composed by any man, that

sacrifice, enjoined by such an authority, would not have been applicable as a means of attaining paradise; for no man can know what is the means of accomplishing such an end. But the application in question is prescribed *in the Veda* by the words 'let him who seeks paradise, sacrifice with the *jyotishtoma*.' Now this injunction does not resemble the talk of a madman, since we recognize in it, as in injunctions of a secular kind, the contemplation of the three necessary modes of the action to be performed. For, as when a question is put in regard to the *object* for which, the *instrument* through which, and the *manner* in which the secular precept, 'to feed Brahmans,' is to be fulfilled,—we are told that the object is to be their *satisfaction*, the instrumental substance *boiled rice*, and the manner *that it is to be served up with vegetables and condiments*; in the same way, in the Vedic injunction regarding the *jyotishtoma*, we are told that *paradise* is the object, that *soma* is the instrumental substance, and that the application of *the introductory and other portions of the ritual* is the manner. And when this is so, how can this precept be compared to the talk of a madman? Nor does the sentence regarding *trees, etc., attending at a sacrifice* admit of such a comparison, since the sacrifice in question is similarly circumstanced with the *jyotishtoma*. For the logicians say that the meaning of a word is *the sense which it is intended to intimate*. The purport of the sentence regarding the *jyotishtoma*, which is of a *preceptive* character, is to command performance. The object of the sentence regarding *trees, etc., attending at a sacrifice*, which is of a narrative character, is *eulogy*; and this can be offered even by an insensible [?] object. The sacrifice is eulogized by saying that it was celebrated *even by insensible trees and ignorant serpents: how much more, then, by Brahmans possessed both of sensation and knowledge!*"

II.—*The Vedānta*.—I proceed to adduce the reasonings by which Bādarāyana, the author of the Brahma, Vedānta, or Śārīraka Sūtras, as expounded by Śankara Āchāryya in his

Śārīraka-mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya, or commentary on those Sūtras; corroborates the arguments of Jainini in regard to the eternity and consequent authority of the Veda. After discussing the question whether any persons but Hindus of the three highest tribes are qualified for divine knowledge, the author of the Sūtras comes to the conclusion that Śūdras, or persons of the fourth tribe, are incompetent, while beings superior to man, the gods, are competent (Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 348, or p. 223 of W. and N.'s ed.) In Sūtra i. 3, 26, the author determines that the gods have a *desire* for final emancipation, owing to the instability of their power, and a *capacity* for acquiring a knowledge of Brahma, because they are *corporeal* beings; and that there is no obstacle which prevents their attaining such divine knowledge. A difficulty, however, having been raised that the gods cannot be corporeal, because, if they were so, it is necessary to conceive that they would be corporeally present at, and form (as priests actually do) a part of the ceremonial of, sacrifice, which would not consist with the usual course of such ceremonies, at which the gods are not seen to be corporeally present, and would, in fact, involve an impossibility, since Indra, for example, being but one, could not be corporeally present at numerous sacrifices at once;—this difficulty is solved (under Sūtra i. 3, 27) in two ways, either by supposing (1) that the gods assume different forms, and are present at many sacrifices at once, though invisible to mortals; or by considering (2) that, as a sacrifice is offered to a deity, many persons may present their oblations to that deity at once, just as one Brahman may be saluted by many different persons at the same time. It is, therefore, concluded that the corporeal nature of the gods is not inconsistent with the practice of sacrifice. Having settled these points, Śankara comes to Sūtra i. 3, 28.

‘*Śabda iti chet | na | atah prabharāt | pratyakṣānumānā-
bhyām.*’

*Mā nāma vigraharattre devādīnām abhyupagamyamāne kar-
maṇi kaścid virodhaḥ prasañji | śabde tu virodhaḥ prasajyeta |*

katham | ' *Autpattikaṁ hi śabdasya arthena sambandham* ' *āśritya*
'anapexatrād' *iti vedasya prāmānyaṁ sthāpitam* | *Idānīntu*
vigraharati devatā *'bhyupagamya mānā yadyapy aiśvarya-yogād*
yugapad aneka-karma-sambandhīni harīṁśhi bhuṅgīta tathāpi
vigraha-yogād asmadādi-raja janana-maranarati sū iti nityasya
śabdasya anityena arthena nitya-sambandhe pratiyamāne yad
raīdike śabde prāmānyaṁ sthitaṁ tasya virodhaḥ syād iti chet |
na ayam apy asti virodhaḥ | *kasmād 'ataḥ prabharāt'* | *Ata era*
hi vaidikāt śabdād devādikaṁ jagat prabharati | *Nam 'jan-*
mādi asya yataḥ' (Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 2) *iti brahma-prabharat-*
raṁ jagato 'radhārītaṁ katham iha śabda-prabharatram uchyate |
Apicha yadi nāma vaidikāt śabdād asya prabharo 'bhyupagataḥ
katham etāvatā virodhaḥ śabde pariḥṛitaḥ | *yāvatā Vasuro*
Rudrā Ādityā Viśvedevā Marutā ity etc 'rthā anityā eva utpatti-
matteāt | *Tad-anityatve cha tad-vāchakānām vaidikānām Vas-*
vādi-śabdānām anityatvaṁ kena vāryyate | *Prasiddhaṁ hi loke*
Devadattasya putre utpanne Yajñadatta iti tasya nāma kriyate
iti | *Tasmād virodha eva śabde iti chet* | *na* | *Garādi-śabdārtha-*
sambandha-nityatva-darśanāt | *Na hi garādi-ryaktīnām utpatti-*
matte tad-ākṛitīnām apy utpattimatteāṁ syād dravya-guṇa-kar-
manāṁ hi ryaktaya eva utpadyante na ākṛitayaḥ | *Ākṛitibhiścha*
śabdānām sambandho na ryaktibhiḥ | *ryaktīnām ānanyāt sam-*
bandha-grahanānupapatteḥ | *Vyaktishu utpadyamānāsrāpy ākṛi-*
tīnām nityatvād na garādi-śabdeshu kaśchid virodho dṛiśyate |
Tathā devādi-ryakti-prabharābhyupagame 'pi ākṛiti-nityatvād na
kaśchid Vase-ādi-śabdeshu virodha iti drashtavyam | *Ākṛiti-*
viśeshas tu devādinām mantrārthavādādibhyo vigravaratṛādy-
acagamād aragantaryah | *Sthāna-viśeśa-sambandha-nimittāśchu*
Indrādi-śabdāḥ senāpatyādi-śabda-vat | *Tatoścha yo yas tat tat*
sthānam adhītiśthuti sa sa Indrādi-śabdair abhidhīyate iti na
dosho bhavati | *Na cha idāṁ śabda-prabharatram Brahma-pra-*
bharatva-vad upādāna-kāraṇatrābhīprāyena uchyate | *katham*
tarhi sthiti-vāchakātmanā nitye śabde nityārtha-sambandhīni
śabda-ryavāhāra-yogyārtha-ryakti-nishpattir 'ataḥ prabhara'
ity uchyate | *katham punar acagamyatve śabdāt prabharati jagad*

iti | 'pratyaxānumānābhyām' | *Pratyaxam śrutih* | *prāmāṇyam prati anapekṣatāt* | *anumānam smṛtiḥ* | *prāmāṇyam prati sāpex-
atvāt* | *Te hi śabda-pūrvām śrīṣṭīm darśayataḥ* | 'Eta' iti rai pra-
jāpatir devān asṛijata 'asṛigram' iti manushyān 'indura' iti pītṛūṁs
'tīraḥ paritram' iti grabhān 'āsāca' iti stotraṁ 'vīśvānī' iti śāstram
'abhi saubhagā' ity anyāḥ prajā iti śrutih | *Tathā 'nyatrāpi' sa
manasā vācham nīthunaṁ samabharat* | *ityādinā tatra tatra
śabda-pūrvikā śrīṣṭih śrūyate* | *Smṛtir api 'anādi-nidhanā
nityā vāg utsṛīṣṭa srayambhuvā* | *ādan cedamayī diryā yataḥ
sarvāḥ prarūṭṭayāḥ* | *ity utsargo 'py ayaṁ vāchāḥ sampradūya-
pravarṭtanātmako drakṣṭaryāḥ anādi-nidhanāyāḥ anyādṛīṣṭasya
utsargasya asambharāt* | *Tathā 'nāma-rūpaṁcha bhūtānām kar-
maṇūṁcha pravarṭtanam* | *Veda-śabdebhya erādan nirmame sa
maheśvaraḥ* | *iti* | 'sarveśhāṁcha sa nāmāni karmāṇi cha pṛithak
pṛithak | *Veda-śabdebhya erādan pṛithak saṁsthāścha nirmame*
iti cha | *Apīcha chikūrṣṭam artham anutīṣṭhan tasya vāch-
akam śabdam pūrvam smṛitā pāśchāt tam artham anutīṣṭhati
iti sarveśhām naḥ pratyaxam etat* | *Tathā prajāpater api sra-
stuh śrīṣṭeḥ pūrvam vaidikāḥ śabdā manasi prādurbabhūruḥ
pāśchāt tad-anugatān arthān sasṛjja iti gamyate* | *Tathā cha
śrutih 'sa bhūḥ iti vyākaran bhūmim asṛijata' ityeramādikā
bhārādi-śabdebhya era manasi prādurbhūtebhyo bhār-ādi-lokān
prādurbhūtān śrīṣṭhān darśayati* | *kimātmakam punaḥ śabdam
abhipretya idam śabda-prabharatvam uchyate* | *sphotam ityāha* |
. . . *Tasmād nityāt śablāt sphoṭa-rūpād abhidhāyakāt kriyā-
kāra-phaḭa-larānam jagad abhidhāya-bhūtam prabharatīti* |
. . . *Tataścha nityebhyaḥ śabdebhyo devādi-vyaktīnām prabhara
ity aviruddham.*

Sūtra i. 3, 29. 'Ata era cha nityatram' | *satantrasya kart-
tuh smaranād era hi sthite vedosya nityatre devādi-vyakti-pra-
bharābhyupagamena tasya virodham āśaṅkya 'ataḥ prabharād'*
*iti parihṛitya idānūm tad era veda-nityatram sthitaṁ dradha-
yati 'ata era cha nityatram' iti* | *ata era cha nityatākṛiter
devāder jagato veda-śabda-prabhavatvād era veda-śabda-nityat-
ram api pratyetyanyam* | *Tathā cha mantra-varnaḥ 'yajñena*

rāchaḥ padarīyam āyan tām anacindann ṛishishu pravishṭām' ite sthitām eva rācham anurinnām darśayati | Vedavyāsaścha cram eva smarati | 'yugānte'ntarhitān vedān setihāsān maharshayah | lebhīre tapasā pūrcam anujñātāḥ śrayambhau' iti.

"Sūtra i. 3, 28:—' But it is said that there will be a contradiction in respect of sound (or the word); but this is not so, because the gods are produced from it, as is proved by intuition and inference.'

"Be it so, that though the corporeality of the gods, etc., be admitted, no contradiction will arise in respect of the ceremonial. Still [it will be said that] a contradiction will arise in regard to the word. How? [In this way.] By founding upon the 'inherent connection of a word with the thing signified,' the authority of the Veda had been established by the aphorism '*anapex-atrāt*,' etc. (Mīmāṃsā Sūtras i. 2, 21; see above, p. 58.) But now, since it has been asserted that the deities are corporeal, it will follow that (though from their possession of divine power they can at one and the same time partake of the oblations offered at numerous sacrifices), they will still, owing to their corporeality, be subject, like ourselves, to birth and death; and hence, the eternal connection of the eternal word with an object which is non-eternal being lost, a contradiction will arise in regard to the authority proved to belong to the word of the Veda; [for thus the word, not having any eternal connection with the non-eternal thing, could not be eternal, and not being eternal, could not be authoritative]. But this supposed contradiction has no existence. How? 'Because they are produced from it.' Hence the world of gods, etc., is produced from the Vedic word. But according to the aphorism (Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 2) 'from him the production, etc., of all this is derived,' it is established that the world has been produced from Brahma. How, then, is it said here that it is produced from the word? And, moreover, if it be allowed that the world is produced from the Vedic word, how is the contradiction in regard to the word thereby removed, inasmuch as all the following classes of beings, viz., the Vasus, Rudras,

Ādityas, Viśvedevas, Maruts, are non-eternal, because produced ; and when they are non-eternal, what is there to bar the non-eternity of the Vedic words *Vasu*, etc., by which they are designated ? For it is a common saying, ' *When a son is born to Deradatta, that son receives the name of Fajnadatta,*' [i.e. no child receives a name before it exists]. Hence a contradiction does arise in regard to [the eternity of] the word. To this objection we reply with a negative ; for in the case of such words as *cow* we discover an eternal connection between the word and the thing. For although *individual cows*, etc., *come into* existence, the species to which they belong does not *begin to exist*, as it is individual substances, qualities, and acts, which begin to exist, and not their species. Now it is with species that words are connected, and not with individuals, for as the latter are infinite, such a connection would in their case be impossible. But as species are eternal (though individuals begin to exist) no contradiction is discoverable in the case of such words as *cow*, etc. In the same way it is to be remarked that though we allow that the individual gods, etc., have commenced to exist, there is no contradiction [to the eternity of the Vedic word] in the [existence of the] words *Vasu*, etc. [which denote those individual gods], since species are eternal. And the fact that the gods, etc., belong to particular species may be learned from this, that we discover their corporeality and other attributes in the hymns and *artharādas* (explanatory remarks in the Vedas), etc. The words *Indra*, etc., are derived from connection with some particular post, like the words 'commander' (*senapāti*), etc. Hence, whosoever occupies any particular post, is designated by the words *Indra*, and so forth ; and therefore *Indra* and the other gods belong to the species of occupants of particular posts. Thus there is no difficulty. And this derivation from the word is not, like production from *Brahma*, meant in the sense of evolution from a material cause. How, then (since language is eternal and connected with eternal objects), is it declared in the phrase 'produced from it' that the *production* of

individual beings, in the ordinary sense of the expression, is effected by a thing (sound or language), the very nature of which it is to denote *continuance* [and not such *change* as is involved in the idea of production?] How, again, is it known that the world is produced from the word? The answer is, [it is known] ‘from intuition and inference.’ ‘Intuition’ means the Veda, because it is independent of any (other) authority. ‘Inference’ means the *smṛiti*, because it is dependent on another authority (the Veda). These two demonstrate that the creation was preceded by the word. Thus the Veda says, ‘at (or with) the word *ete* (*these*) Prajāpati created the gods; at *asṛigram* (*they were poured out*) he created men; at *indavaḥ* (*drops of soma*) he created the *pitṛis*; at *tiraḥ paritram* (*through the filter*) he created the planets; at *āśavaḥ* (*sacrifice*) he created hymns; at *viśvāni* (*all*) he created praise; and at the words *abhi saubhagā* (*for the sake of blessings*) he created the other creatures.’⁴¹ And in another place it is said ‘with his mind he produced speech, [as] *a mate*.’ (Vṛih. Ar. Up. p. 50.) By these and other such texts the Veda declares that creation was preceded by the word. And when the *Smṛiti* says, ‘At first a divine voice, eternal, without beginning or end, formed of the Vedas, was uttered by *Śvayambhū*, from which all activities [proceeded]’ (see above, p. 4, note 2), the expression *utterance* of the voice is to be regarded as employed out of deference to the customary phraseology, since it is inconceivable that a voice which was ‘without beginning or end,’ could be uttered in the same sense as other sounds. Again, we have this other text, ‘In the beginning *Maheśvara* created from the words of the Veda the names and forms of creatures, and their several modes of action;’

⁴¹ I am unable to say whence this passage is derived; but it seems to be a mystical exposition, from a *Brahmana* or *Upanishad*, of the words from *Rig-veda* ix. 62, 1 (= *Sāma-veda* ii. 180), which are imbedded in it, viz., *ete asṛigram indavas tiraḥ paritram āśavaḥ | viśvāni abhi saubhagā*. “These hurrying drops of soma have been poured through the filter, to procure all blessings.” (See Benfey’s translation.) It was by the help of Dr. Pertsch’s alphabetical list of the initial words of the verses of the *Rig-veda* (in Weber’s *Ind. Stud.*) that I discovered the verse in question in the R. V.

and again, 'He created in the beginning the several names, functions, and conditions of all creatures from the words of the Veda.' (See above, p. 4, note 2.) And it is a matter of common observation to us all, that when any one is occupied with any end which he wishes to accomplish, he first calls to mind the word which expresses it, and then proceeds to effect his purpose. So, too, in the case of Prajāpati the creator, we conclude that before the creation the words of the Veda were manifested in his mind, and that afterwards he created the objects which resulted from them. Thus the Vedic text which says, 'uttering *bhūr*, he created the earth (*bhūmī*), etc.,' intimates that the different worlds, earth and the rest, were manifested, *i.e.* created from the words *bhūr*, etc., manifested in his mind. Of what sort, now, was this word which is intended, when it is said that the world was produced from the word? It was *sphota* (*disclosure or expression*), we are told."

I shall not quote the long discussion (extending over two quarto pages) on which Śāṅkara here enters, regarding this term. (See Colebrooke's *Misc. Ess.* i. 305, ff.; Ballantyne's *Christianity Contrasted with Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 192 ff.; the same author's translation of the commencement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, p. 10; and Müller's article on the last-named work in the journal of the German Or. Soc. vii. 170). Śāṅkara states his conclusion to be that "from the eternal word, in the form of *sphota*, which designates [all things], the object to be designated, *viz.*, the world, under the three characters 'of *action*, *cause*, and the *results* of action, is produced," and finishes his remarks on this Sūtra (i. 3, 28) by observing: "Consequently there is no contradiction in saying that the individual gods, etc., are derived from eternal words." He then proceeds to Sūtra i. 3, 29:—"Hence results the eternity of the Vedas." On this he observes, "The eternity of the Veda had been established by the fact that it was remembered by its Self-dependent Maker. But a doubt had been suggested that this eternity is inconsistent with the admission that individual gods, etc., have commenced to

exist. This doubt, however, having been set aside by the preceding aphorism, 'Since they are produced from it,' he now confirms the eternity of the Veda (which had been already proved) by the words of the Sūtra before us, which mean that as a result of this very fact that the world, consisting of gods and other beings belonging to fixed species, was produced from the words of the Vedas, the eternity of these Vedic words themselves also must be believed. Accordingly, the words of the hymn, 'by sacrifice they followed the path of Vāch, and found her entered into the rishis' (R. V. x. 71, 3; see Part Second, p. 220) prove that Vāch already existed when she was discovered. And in the very same way Vedavyāsa records that, 'formerly the great rishis, empowered by Svayambhu, obtained through devotion the Vedas and Itihāsas, which had disappeared at the end of the preceding *yuga*.'"

SECT. VIII.—*Arguments of the followers of the Nyāya and Sāṅkhya Systems in support of the authority of the Vedas, but against the eternity of sound.*

1.—*The Nyāya*.—The eternity of sound is, as we have already discovered from the allusions of the Mīmāṃsaka commentator, (above p. 55), denied by the followers of the Nyāya school. The consideration of this subject is begun in the following way in the Nyāya aphorisms of Gotama, as explained by Viśvanātha Bhattacharya in the Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti, ii. 81.

Vedasya prāmāṇyam āpta-prāmāṇyāt siddham | na cha idaṁ yujyate vedasya nityatrād ity āśaṅkāyām carṇānām anityatrāt kathaṁ tatsamudāya-rūpasya vedasya nityatvam ity āśayena śabdānityatva-prakaraṇam ārabhate | tatra siddhānta-sūtram | 'Ādimattrād aindriyakatrāt kṛitakatrād upachārūchcha' | 81 | śabdo 'nitya ityādiḥ | ādimattrāt sakāraṇakatrāt | nanu na sakāraṇakatram kaṇṭha-tūkrādy-abhigātāder cyañjakatrenūpy upapatter ata āha aindriyakatrād itī sāmānyarattee sati vakir-indriya-janya-laukika-pratyakṣa-rishoyatrād ity arthaḥ |

Aprayojakatvam āśaṅkya āha kṛitaketi | kṛitake ghaṭādaṁ yathā upachāro jñānaṁ tathaiṣa kāryyatra-prakāra-ka-pratyakṣa-rishayavād ityarthah | tathā cha kāryatvena anākāryya-sārvalaukika-pratyakṣa-balād anityatvam eva siddhati. “It has been proved (in the 68th Sūtra, see below) that ‘the authority of the Veda follows from the authority of the wise person who made it.’ But it may be objected that this is not a proper ground on which to base the authority of the Veda, since it is eternal. With the view of proving, in opposition to this, that since letters are not eternal, the Veda, which is a collection of letters, cannot be so either, the author of the Sūtras commences the section on the non-eternity of sound. The Sūtra laying down the established doctrine is as follows:—‘Sound cannot be eternal, as (1) it had an origin, as (2) it is cognizable by sense, and (3) it is spoken of as factitious.’ Sound is non-eternal, etc., because (1) it had a beginning, *i.e.*, because it had a cause. But it may be said that it had no *cause*, as, agreeably to the doctrine of the Mīmāṃsakas (see above, p. 56), the action of the throat and palate in pronunciation may merely occasion a *manifestation* of sound without *creating* it. In reply to this, it is said (2) that sound is cognizable by sense, *i.e.*, that though it belongs to a genus, it is an object of ordinary perception through an external sense.” [A different explanation given by other interpreters is next quoted, which I omit.] “Then surmising that the preceding definition may be regarded as not to the point, the author adds the words ‘as it is spoken of as factitious,’ *i.e.*, as jars and other such objects are spoken of as,—are known to be,—products, so, too, sound is distinguishable by sense as being in the nature of a product. And in consequence of this necessary [or incontrovertible?] and universal perception of its being *produced*, it is proved that it cannot be eternal.” [Two other explanations of this last clause of the Sūtra are then added.]

Leaving the reader to study the details of the discussion in Dr. Ballantyne’s aphorisms of the Nyāya (Part Second, pp.

77 ft.), I will pass over most of the Sūtras, and merely quote the principal conclusions of the Nyāya aphorist. In Sūtra 86 he says, in opposition to the 13th Sūtra of the Mīmāṃsa (above, p. 56);

86. — ‘*Prāg uchchāraṇād anupalambhād āvaranādyanupalabdhē*’ | *śabdo yadi nityaḥ syād uchchāraṇāt prāg apy upalabhyeta śrotra-sannikarṣa-sattoāt* | *na cha atra pratibandhakam asti ityāha āvaraneti āvaranādēḥ pratibandhakasya anupalabdhyā abhāra-nirṇayāt* | *deśāntara-gamanantu śabdasya amūrtatvād na sambhāryate* | *atīndriyānanta-pratibandhakatva-kalpanām apcya śabdānityatva-kalpanā ca laghūyasī iti bhārah.* “Sound is not eternal, because it is not perceived before it is uttered, and because we do not perceive anything which should intercept it.’ If sound were eternal, it would be perceived even before it was uttered, from its being in contact with the ear. [Sound, as Dr. Ballantyne explains, is admitted to be a quality of the all-pervading ether.] And in the next words the aphorist says that there is no obstacle to its being so heard, since the non-existence of any hindrance, such as an intercepting medium, is ascertained by our not perceiving anything of that sort. And it is not conceivable that sound should have gone to another place [and for that reason be inaudible], since it has no defined form. The supposition that sound is non-eternal, is simpler than the supposition that there are an infinity of imperceptible obstacles to its perception.”

The 89th and 90th Sūtras, with part of the comments on them, are as follows :—89. ‘*Asparśatvāt*’ | *śabdo nityaḥ* | *asparśatvād gagana-rad iti bhārah* | 90. ‘*Na karmānityatvāt*’ | *asparśatvān na śabda-nityatva-sādhakam karmani vyabhichārāt.* 89. “It may be said that sound is eternal, from its being, like the sky, intangible. 90. But this is no proof, for the intangibility of sound does not establish its eternity, since these two qualities do not always go together; for intangibility, though predicable, *e.g.*, of action, fails to prove its eternity.”

The 100th and following Sūtras are as follows :—100. ‘*Vinā-*

śa-kāraṇānupalabdheḥ | 101. ‘*Āśraṇa-kāraṇānupalabdheḥ satata-śraṇa-prasaṅgaḥ*’ | *Yady apratyakrād abhāca-siddhis tadā ‘śraṇa-kāraṇasya apratyakratrād āśraṇaṁ na syād iti satata-śraṇa-prasaṅga iti bhāraḥ* || 102. ‘*Upalabhyamāne cha anupalabdher asatkrād anapadeśaḥ*’ || *Anumānādinā upalabhyamāne vināśa-kāraṇe anupalabdher abhārāt tradīyo hetur anapadeśaḥ asādhakāḥ asiddhātāt | janyabhāratena vināśa-kalpanam iti bhāraḥ*. “It is said (100) that ‘sound must be eternal, because we perceive no cause why it should cease.’ The answer is (101), first, ‘that if the non-existence of any such cause of cessation were established by the mere fact of its not being perceived, such non-perception would occasion our hearing continually, which is an absurdity.’ And (102), secondly, ‘since such non-perception is not a fact, inasmuch as [a cause of the cessation of sound] is perceived, this argument falls to the ground.’ Since a cause for the cessation of sound is discovered by inference, etc., and thus the non-perception of any cause is seen to be untrue, this argument of yours proves nothing, because its correctness is not established. The purport is that we suppose, from sound being produced, that it must also be liable to perish.”

Sūtras 106—122 are occupied with a consideration of the question (above treated, pp. 56, 57, in Sūtras 10 and 16 of the Mīmāṃsā) whether letters can change or not. The conclusion at which Gotama arrives is, that the substance of letters cannot undergo any alteration, though they may be said to change when they are modified in quality by being lengthened, shortened, etc.

In a preceding part of the Second Book (Sūtras 57—68) Gotama treats of the Veda, and repels certain charges which are alleged against its authority. I shall quote most of these aphorisms, and cite the commentary more fully than Dr. Ballantyne has done. (See Ballantyne’s Nyāya Aphorisms, Part ii. pp. 56 ff.)

Śabdasya dṛiṣṭādṛiṣṭārthakatvena droividhyam uktaṁ tatra

cha adṛiṣṭārthaka-śabdasya vedasya prāmāṇyam parīṣitum pūrva-parayati || 57. ‘*Tad-aprāmāṇyam anṛita-ryāghāta-punarukta-doshabhyaḥ*’ || *Tasya dṛiṣṭārthaka-ryatirikta-śabdasya vedasya aprāmāṇyam | kutaḥ | anṛitatrādi-doshāt | tatra cha putreshṭi-kāryādau krucit phalānutpatti-darśanād anṛitatram | ryāghātaḥ pūrrāpara-rīrodhaḥ | yathā ‘udite juhōti anudite juhōti samayādhyushite juhōti | śyāco ‘sya āhutim abhyarahaṛati ya udite juhōti śaralo ‘sya āhutim abhyarahaṛati yo ‘nudite juhōti śyāva-śaralār asya āhutim abhyarahaṛato yuḥ samayādhyushite juhōti’ atra cha uditādi-rākyānām nindānumitānīṣṭa-sādhanatā-bodhaka-rākyā-rīrodhaḥ | paunaruktyād aprāmāṇyam | Yathā triḥ prathamām anvāha | trir uttamām anrāha | ity atra uttamatreṣya prathamatreṣya-paryarasanāt triḥ kathanena cha paunaruktyam | eteshām aprāmāṇye tad-dṛiṣṭāntena tad-ekakarttrikatreṇa tad-ekajātīyatreṇa vā sarva-redāprāmāṇyānām sādhanīyam iti bhārah | siddhānta-sūtram* || 58. ‘*Na karma-karttṛi-sādhana-raigunīyāt*’ || *Na redāprāmāṇyānām karma-karttṛi-sādhana-raigunīyāt phalābhāropapattēḥ | karmaṇaḥ kriyāyā caigunīyam ayathārīdhitvāli | karttur raigunīyam aridratrādi | sādhanasya harir-ādēḥ raigunīyam āproxītatrādi | Yathokta-karmaṇaḥ phalābhare hy anṛitatram | na cha evam asti iti bhārah | ryāghātum pariharati* || 59. ‘*Abhyupetya kāla-bhede dosha-vachanāt*’ || *na ryāghāta iti śeṣaḥ | Agnyādhāna-kāle uditā-homādikam abhyupetya sṛīkrītya anudita-homādi-karaṇe pūrrocta-doshakathanād na ryāghāta ity arthaḥ | paunaruktyam pariharati* || 60. *Anuvāadopapattēścha* || *chaḥ punar-arthe | anuvāadopapattēḥ punar na paunaruktyam | nishprayojanatve hi paunaruktyānām doshaḥ | ukta-sthale tr anuvādasya upapattēḥ prayojanasya sambharāt | ekādaśa-sāmidhenīnām prathamottamayos trir abhidhāne hi pañchadaśatraṇām sambharati | tathācha pañchadaśatraṇām śrūyate | ‘Imam aham bhrātṛīryam pañchadaśārāreṇa rāg-rajareṇa cha bādhe yo ‘smān deśhṭi yañcha rayam dvishma’ iti | Anuvādasya sārthakatvaṇ loka prasīddham ity āha* || 61. *Vākya-vibhāgasya cha artha-grahaṇāt* || *Vākya-ribhāgasya | anuvādatrena ribhakta-vākyaṣya artha-grahaṇāt prayojana-sṛīkārāt |*

*śiṣṭāir iti śeṣaḥ | śiṣṭā hi vidhāyakānurādhakādi-bhedena vāk-
yāṁ vibhajya anucādakasyāpi saprayojanatram manyante | Vede
'py evam iti bhāraḥ | . . . Eram aprāmānya-sādhakaṁ nirasya
prāmānyaṁ sādhayati || 68. Mantrāyurveda-rachcha tat-prāmā-
nyam āpta-prāmānyāt || Āptasya veda-karttuḥ prāmānyāt yathār-
thopadeśukatrād vedasya taduktatram arthāl labdham | tena
hetunā vedasya prāmānyam anumeyam | tatra dṛiṣṭāntam āha
mantrāyurveda-rad iti | mantro vishūdi-nāśakaḥ | āyurveda-
bhāgaścha veda-stha eva | tatra saṁvādena prāmānya-grahāt
tad-dṛiṣṭāntena vedatrāvachhedena prāmānyam anumeyam |
āptaṁ grihitam prāmānyaṁ yatra sa vedas tādriścā vedatvena
prāmānyam anumeyam iti kechit. "It had been declared (Nyāya
Sūtras i. 8) that verbal evidence is of two kinds, (1) that of
which the subject-matter is seen, and (2) that of which the sub-
ject-matter is unseen. With the view, now, of testing the
authority of that verbal evidence which refers to unseen things,
viz., the Veda, Gotama states the first side of the question.
Sūtra 57. 'The Veda has no authority, since it has the defects
of falsehood, self-contradiction, and tautology.' That verbal
evidence which is distinct from such as relates to visible objects,
i.e., the Veda, has no authority. Why? Because it has the
defects of falsehood, etc. Of these defects, that of 'falsehood'
is exemplified in the fact that we sometimes observe that no
fruit results from performing the sacrifice for a son, or the like.
'Self-contradiction' is a discrepancy between a former and a
later declaration. Thus the Veda says, 'he sacrifices when the
sun is risen; he sacrifices when the sun is not yet risen; he
sacrifices in the morning twilight. A tawny [demon?] carries
away the oblation of him who sacrifices after the sun has risen;
a brindled [demon?] carries off the oblation of him who sacrifices
before the sun has risen; and both of these two carry off the
oblation of him who sacrifices in the morning twilight.' Now here
there is a contradiction between the words which enjoin sacrifices
and the words which intimate by censure that those sacrifices will
occasion disastrous results. Again, the Veda has no authority,*

owing to its 'tautology,' as where it is said, 'he repeats the first thrice, he repeats the last thrice.' For as the *lastness* ultimately coincides with [?] the *firstness*, and as there is a triple repetition of the words, this sentence is tautological. Now since these particular sentences have no authority, the entire Veda will be proved by these specimens to stand in the same predicament, since all its other parts have the same author, or are of the same character, as these portions."

Here follows the Sūtra which conveys the established doctrine. "58. 'The Veda is not false; it is owing to some fault in the ceremonial, or the performer, or the instrument he employs, that any sacrifice is ineffectual.' Faults in the ceremonial are such as its not being according to rule. Faults in the performer are such as ignorance. Faults in the instrument, *i.e.*, in the clarified butter, etc., are such as its not being duly sprinkled, etc. For falsehood might be charged on the Veda, if no fruit resulted from a sacrifice when duly performed; but such is not the case."

Gotama next repels the charge of self-contradiction in the Vedas. "59. 'There is no self-contradiction, for the fault is only imputed in case the sacrifice should be performed at a different time from that at first intended.' The fault imputed to these sacrifices in the text in question would [only] be imputed if, after agreeing, at the time of placing the sacrificial fire, to perform the sacrifice after sunrise, one were to change it to a sacrifice before sunrise; there is, therefore, no self-contradiction in the passage referred to."

He next rebuts the charge of tautology. "60. 'The Veda is not tautological, because repetition may be proper.' The particle '*cha*' means again. 'Again, since repetition may be proper, there is no tautology.' For repetition is only a fault when it is useless. But in the passage referred to, since repetition is proper, its utility is apparent. For when the first and the last of the *eleven sāmīdhenis* (forms of prayer used on throwing fuel into the fire) are each repeated thrice, the whole number

of verses will be made up to *fifteen*.⁴² Accordingly, this number of fifteen is mentioned in these words of the Veda, 'I smite this enemy who hates us, and whom we hate, with the last of the fifteen verses, and with the thunderbolt of my words.'

He next observes that the advantage of repetition is commonly recognised. "61. 'And the Veda is not tautological, because the utility of this division of discourse is admitted, *i.e.*, because the necessity for a division of language, that is, of a description of language characterized as reiterative, is acknowledged by the learned. For by dividing language into the different classes of *injunctive*, *reiterative*, etc., learned men recognise the uses of the reiterative also. And this applies to the Veda.'

The author of the aphorisms then proceeds to state and to define (in Sūtras 62—67) the different sorts of discourse employed in the Veda, and to defend the propriety of reiteration. "Having thus refuted the arguments which aim at showing that the Veda is of no authority, he goes on to prove its authority. 68. 'The authority of the Veda, like that of the spells and the medical treatise, follows from the authority of the wise [person who made it].' Since a wise [person], the maker of a Veda, possesses authority, *i.e.*, is one who inculcates truth, it results from the force of the terms that the Veda was uttered by a person of this character; and by this reasoning the authority of the Veda is to be inferred. He illustrates this by the case of the spells and medical treatise. By spells (*mantra*) are meant the formulæ which neutralize poison, etc., and the section of the medical treatise (*āyurveda*) forms part of the Veda. Now as the authority of these two writings is admitted by general consent, the authority of everything which possesses the characteristics of the Veda must be inferred from this example. Some, however, explain the aphorism thus: a Veda is that in which authority is found or recognized. From such *redicuity* (or pos-

⁴² If there are in all *eleven* formulæ, and *two* of these are *each* repeated *thrice*, we have ($2 \times 3 =$) *six* to add to the *nine* (which remain of the original *eleven*), making ($6 + 9 =$) *fifteen*. See Müller's *Anc. Sans. Lit* pp. 89 and 393.

session of the character of a *Veda*), the authority of any work is to be inferred."

It is not necessary to regard this 68th Sūtra as expressing the ultimate grounds on which Gotama would have vindicated the authority of the Vedas against its gainsayers. It is sufficient to consider the aphorism as merely indicating the proper basis on which the great logician thought that the infallibility of the Vedas should be defended, in opposition to those who maintained that their authority was derived from their eternity. Gotama denied this eternity, and deduced the infallibility of the Vedas from the infallibility of their author. In arguing with a disbeliever in the Vedas, he would have had to prove that they had really proceeded from an infallible author.

II. *The Sāṅkhya*.—The opinions of the author of the Sāṅkhya aphorisms in regard to the authority of the Veda and the principles on which that authority depends, are contained in the 45th to the 51st aphorisms of the Fifth Book, which I extract with the comments of Vijnāna Bhikṣu.⁴³ 45. 'Na nityatraṃ Vedānām kāryatva-śruteḥ' || 'Sa tapo 'tapyata tasmāt tapas tepānāt trayo vedā ajāyanta' ity ādi-śruter redānām na nityatram ity arthaḥ | reda-nityatā-vākyāni cha sajātyānupārī-pracāhānuchchheda-parāṇi | Tarhi kim paurusheyā vedāḥ | na ityāha || 46. 'Na paurusheyatraṃ tathartuḥ prurushasya abhāvāt' || 'īśvara-pratishedād iti śeṣaḥ | sugamam | aparāḥ karttā bhārato ity ākāṅkṣāyām āha || 47. 'Muktāmuktayor ayogyatrāt' || Jīvanmukta-dhurīṇo Viṣṇur viśuddha-sattvatayā niratiśaya-sarvajño 'pi vītarāgateāt sahasra-śākha-veda-nirmāṇāyogyāḥ | amuktas tv asarvajñatvād eva ayogyā ity arthaḥ | nanv eam apaurusheyatvād nityatram eva āgatam | tatrāha || 48. 'Na apaurusheyatvād nityatram ankurādi-vat' || Spashtam | nanv ankurādishv api kāryatvena ghaṭādi-vat paurusheyatram anumeyam | tatrāha || 49. 'Teshām api tadyoge dṛiṣṭa-bādhādi-prasaktiḥ' || Yat paurusheyāṃ tach chharīra-janyam iti vyāptir loke dṛiṣṭā tasyā

⁴³ Dr. Ballantyne's edition of the Sāṅkhya Sūtras does not, I believe, as yet extend beyond the fourth book.

*bādhādīr eram sati syād iti arthah | nane Ādi-purushochchari-
tatrād Vedā api paurusheyā era ity āha || 50. 'Yasmin adrishṭe
'pi kṛita-buddhīr upajāyate tat paurusheyam' || Driṣṭe wa
adriṣṭe 'pi yasmin eastuni kṛita-buddhīr buddhi-pūrrakatra-
buddhīr jāyate tad era paurusheyam iti vyacahriyate ity arthah |
etaḍ uktam bharati | na purushochcharitatā-mātreṇa paurushe-
yatram śrāsa-praśrāsanyoh sushupti-kūṭinayoh paurusheyatra-
vyacahārābhārūt kintu buddhi-pūrrakatreṇa | Vedāstu niḥśrāsa-
vad era adriṣṭa-raśād abuddhi-pūrrakā era Srayambhuro sakā-
śāt srayam bhavanti | ato na te paurusheyāḥ | tathā cha śrutih
'tasyaitasya mahato bhūtasya niśrasitam etaḍ yad ṛigredo ity
ādīr' iti | nane eram yarthārtha-rākyārtha-jñānāpūrrakatrāt
śūka-rākyasyera vedānām api prāmānyaṁ na syāt tatrāha || 51.
'Nija-śakty-abhryakteḥ svataḥ prāmānyam' || Vedānām nija svā-
bhāvikī yā yathārtha-jñāna-janana-śaktis tasyā mantrāyurredā-
dāw abhīryakter upalambhād akhila-vedānām era svata era prā-
mānyaṁ siddhyati na rakṛi-yathārtha-jñāna-mūlakatrādinā ity
arthah | tathā cha Nyāya-sātram | 'mantrāyurreda-prāmānya-
rachecha tat-prāmānyam' iti.*

“Sūtra 45. ‘Eternity cannot be predicated of the Vedas, since various texts in these books themselves declare them to have been produced.’ The sense is this, that the Vedas are proved not to be eternal by such texts as the following: ‘He performed austerity; from him, when he had thus performed austerity, the three Vedas were produced.’ [See above, p. 3.] Those other texts which assert the eternity [or perpetuity] of the Vedas refer merely to the unbroken continuity of the stream of homogeneous succession [or tradition]. Are the Vedas, then, derived from any personal author? ‘No,’ he replies in Sūtra 46. ‘The Vedas are not derived from any personal author (*paurusheya*), since there is no person (*purusha*) to make them.’ We must supply the words, ‘since an *Īśvara* (God) is denied.’ The sense is easy. In answer to the supposition that there may be some other maker, he remarks, Sūtra 47, ‘No; for there could be no fit maker, either liberated or unliberated.’ Vishnu, the chief of

all those beings who are liberated even while they live,⁴⁴ though, from the pure goodness of his nature, he is possessed of perfect omniscience, would, owing to his impassiveness, be unfit to compose the Veda consisting of a thousand śākhās (branches), while any unliberated person would be unfit for the task from want of omniscience. (See Śāṅkara's comment on Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 3; above, p. 52, note.) But does not, then, the eternity of the Vedas follow from their having no personal author? He replies (48), 'Their eternity does not result from their having no personal author, since they resemble a bud, which sprouts from some root.' This is clear. But is it not to be inferred that buds, etc., since they are products, have, like jars, etc., some personal maker? He replies (49), 'If such a supposition were applied to the Vedas, it would there also be exposed to the objection that it is contrary to what we see, etc.' Whatever is derived from a personal author is produced from a body; this is a rule which is seen to hold invariably. But if we assert that the Vedas are derived from a personal author, we contradict the rule in question, [since the Vedas evidently did not spring from any one's body]. But are not the Vedas, too, derived from a person, seeing that they were uttered by the primeval Puruṣa? He answers (50), 'That object only (even though it be an invisible one), which its maker is conscious of having made, can be said to be derived from [or made by] a person.' It is only those objects, be they seen or unseen, in regard to which a consciousness of design arises, that are ordinarily spoken of as made by a person. The sense is, that it is not mere utterance by a person which constitutes formation by that person (since we do not ordinarily speak of the inspirations and expirations of any person during the time of sleep, as being *formed* by that person), but only utterance with conscious design. But the Vedas proceed of their own accord from Svayambhū (the self-existent), like an expiration, by the force of *adrishṭa* (destiny), without any consciousness on his part. Hence they are not

⁴⁴ See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 369, or p. 241 of Williams and Norgate's ed.

formed by any person. Thus the Veda says, 'This Rig-veda, etc., is the breath of this great Being, etc.' [See above, p. 7.] But will not the Vedas, also, be in this way destitute of authority, like the chatter of a parrot, since they did not result from any knowledge of the correct meaning of the words of which they are made up? In reference to this, he says (51), 'The Vedas have a self-proving authority, since their inherent power is manifested.' The self-evidencing authority of the *entire* Vedas is established by the manifestation, or perception, in certain portions of them, viz., the 'spells' and the 'medical treatise,' etc., of that inherent power which they (the Vedas) possess of generating correct knowledge, and does not depend on its being shown that they (the Vedas) are founded on correct knowledge in their utterer, or on any other ground of that sort. And to this effect is the Nyāya Sūtra, that 'its authority is like the authority of the spells and the medical treatise.'" (See above, p. 80.)

In the 57th and following Sūtras of the same book, Kapila denies that sound has the character of *sphoṭa*, or that it is eternal. 57. '*Pratītyapratītibhyāṁ na sphoṭātmakah śabdah*' || *Pratyeka-varṇebhyo 'tiriktaṁ kalaśa ityādi-rūpam akhaṇḍam eka-padam sphoṭa iti yogair abhyupagamyate | kambu-grīvādy-avayavebhyo 'tirikto ghaṭādy-avayavīra | sa cha śabda-viśeṣho padākhya 'rtha-sphuṭikaranāt sphoṭa ity uchyate | sa śabdo 'prāmāṇikah | kutaḥ | pratītyapratītibhyām | sa śabdah kim pratīyate na vā | ādye yena varṇa-samudāyena ānupurī-viśeṣha-viśiṣṭena so 'bhīryajyate tasya eva artha-pratyāyakatvam astu | kim antargadunā tena | antye tv ajñāta-sphoṭasga nāsty artha-pratyāyana-śaktir iti vyarthā sphoṭa-kalpanā ity arthah | Pūrvaṁ vedānāṁ nityatvam pratishiddham | idanīṁ varṇa-nityatvam api pratishedati* || 58. '*Na śabda-nityatvaṁ kāryatā-pratīteḥ*' || *Sa eva ayaṁ ga-kāra ityādi-pratyabhijñā-balād varṇa-nityatvaṁ na yuktaṁ | utpanno ga-kāra ityādi-pratyayena anityatva-siddher ity arthah | pratyabhijñā tajjātiyātā-vishayiṇī | anyathā ghaṭāder api pratyabhijñayā nityatāpatter iti | śaṅkate* ||

59. 'Pūrva-siddha-sattvasya abhivyaktir dīpeneva ghaṭasya' || *Nanu pūrva-siddha-sattākasyaiva śabdasya dhvanyādibhir yā bhivyaktis tanmātram utpattiḥ pratīter viśayaḥ | abhivyaktau dṛṣṭānto dīpeneva ghaṭasya iti | Pariharati* || 60. 'Sathāryya-siddhāntaś chet siddha-sādhanaṁ' || *Abhivyaktir yady anāgatā-vasthā-tyāgena varttamānārasthā-lābha ity uchyate tadā sat-kāryya-siddhāntaḥ | tādṛśa-nityatcañcha sarva-kāryānām eva iti siddha-sādhanaṁ ity arthaḥ | yadi cha varttamānatayā sata eva jñāna-mātra-rūpiṇy abhivyaktir uchyate tadā ghaṭadinām api nityatrūpattir ityādi.* " 'Sound has not the character of *sphoṭa*, from the dilemma that it must be either apparent or not apparent.' A modification of sound called *sphoṭa*, single, indivisible, distinct from individual letters, existing in the form of words like *kalaśa* (jar), distinguished also from *parts* of words like *kambu-grīva* (striped-neck), and forming a whole like the word *ghaṭa* (jar), is assumed by the Yogas. And this species of sound called a word (*padā*) is designated *sphoṭa* from its manifesting a meaning. But the existence of this form of sound is destitute of proof. Why? 'From the dilemma that it must be either apparent or not apparent.' Does this form of sound appear or not? If it appears, then let the power of disclosing a meaning [which is ascribed by our opponents to *sphoṭa*] be regarded as belonging to that collection of letters, arranged in a particular order, by which the supposed *sphoṭa* is manifested. What necessity is there for that superfluous *sphoṭa*? If, on the contrary, it does *not* appear, then that *unknown sphoṭa* can have no power of disclosing a meaning, and consequently it is useless to suppose that any such thing as *sphoṭa* exists.

"The eternity of the Vedas had been already denied. He now denies the eternity of letters also. 58. 'Sound is not eternal, since it is clear that it is a production.' The meaning is, that it is not reasonable to infer on the strength of the recognition of the letter G as the same that we knew before (see *Mīmāṃsā Aphorisms* i. 13; above, p. 56), that letters are eternal; since it is clear that G and other letters are *produced*,

and therefore cannot be eternal. The recognition of these letters has reference to their being of the *same kind* as we have perceived before ; since otherwise we are landed in the absurdity that, because we recognize a jar or any other such object to be the same, it must therefore be eternal.

“He expresses a doubt : 59. ‘What we hear may be merely the *manifestation* of a previously existing thing, as a jar is *manifested* (not created) by the light of a lamp.’ (See Mīmāṃsā Aphorisms, i. 12, 13 ; above, p. 56.) Is it not the fact that it is merely the *manifestation* of language by sounds, etc., which begins to exist as an object of perception ? An illustration of such *manifestation* is that of a jar by means of a lamp.

“He repels this doubt : 60. ‘If the axiom that an effect exists in its cause be here intended, this is merely proving what is already admitted.’ If by *manifestation* is meant the relinquishment by any substance of its previous undeveloped state,⁴⁵ and the attainment of its present developed state, then we have merely the recognized principle of an effect virtually existing in its cause (see Sāṅkhya Karika Aph. ix.) ; and as such eternity is truly predicable of all effects whatever, it is *proving a thing already proved* to assert it here. If, on the other hand, by manifestation be merely meant the perception of a thing actually existing, then we shall be involved in the absurdity of admitting that jars, etc., also are eternal, etc.”

SECT. IX.—*Some further reasonings in support of the supernatural origin of the Veda, and distinction in point of authority between it and the Smṛitis or non-Vedic Śāstras as stated by the Commentators on the Taittirīya Yajur-veda, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Manu, and the Vedānta, etc. ; difference of opinion between Śāṅkara and Madhusūdana regarding the orthodoxy of Kapila and Kaṇāda.*

I.—*The Nyāya-mālā-vistāra.*—I shall begin this section with an extract on the supernatural origin of the Veda from the *Nyāya-mālā-vistāra*, a summary of the doctrines of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā of

⁴⁵ Literally, “the state of being not yet arrived at something” [?]

Jaimini, by Mādhava Āchāryya, the brother of Sāyana Āchāryya (see above, p. 40). Nyāya-mālā-vistara i. 1, 25, 26 : *Paurusheyam na rā veda-rākhyam syāt paurusheyatā | Kāthakādi-samākhyānād rākhyatrāchchānya-rākya-rat | Samākhyā 'dhyāpakatvena cākhyateantu parāhatam | Tathakratrupalambhena syāt tato 'paurusheyatā || Kāthakam Kauthumam Taittirīyakam ityādi samākhyā tattad-veda-vishayaḥ loka dṛishṭā | taddhita-pratyayaścha tena proktaḥ ity asmin arthe carttate | tathā sati Vyāsena proktaḥ Vaiyāsikam Bhāratam ity ādāu iva paurusheyatvam pratīyate | kiñcha | eimataḥ veda-rākhyam paurusheyam | rākhyatāt | Kālidāsādi-rākya-vaditī prāpte brāmah | adhyayana-sampradāya-pravarttakatrena samākhyā upapadyate | Kālidāsādi-grantheshu tat-sargārasānc karttāra upalabhyante | tathā vedasyāpi paurusheyatre tat-karttā upalabhyeta na cha upalabhyate | ato rākhyatra-hetuh pratikūla-turka-parāhataḥ | tasmād apaurusheyo cedaḥ | tathā sati puruṣa-buddhi-kṛitasya oprāmāṇya anuśaṅkanīyatṛād vidhirākhyasya dharme prāmāṇyam sūsthitam.*⁴⁶

“[Verses] ‘Is the word of the Veda of human origin or not? It must be human, since (1) it bears the names of Kāthaka, etc., and (2) has the characters of a sentence, like other sentences. No; for (1) the names arose from particular persons being *teachers* of the Vedas, and (2) the objection that the Vedic precepts have the characters of common sentences is refuted by other considerations. For the Veda must be supernatural, since it has never been known to have had a maker.’ [Comment] It is objected (1) that the names Kāthaka, Kauthuma, Taittirīyaka, etc., are applied in common usage to the different Vedas; and the *taddhita* affix by which these appellations are formed, denotes ‘uttered by’ [Kāṭha, Kuthumi, and Tittiri] (comp. Pāṇini iv. 3, 101). Such being the case, it is clear that these parts of the Vedas are of human origin [or derived from a person, *puruṣa*], like the

⁴⁶ I have extracted this passage from Prof. Goldstücker's unpublished text of the Nyāya-mālā-vistara; and I am indebted to the same profound scholar for some assistance in my translation of it.

Mahābhārata, which is styled *Vaiyāsika*, because it was uttered by Vyāsa, etc. And further (2), the sentences of the Veda, being subject to different interpretations, are of human origin, because they have the properties of a sentence, like the sentences of Kalidāsa, etc. To this we reply (1), the name applied to any Veda originates in the fact that the sage whose name it bears, was an agent in transmitting the study of that Veda. But (2) in the books of Kalidāsa and others, the authors are discoverable [from the notices] at the end of each section. Now if the Veda also were of human composition, the author of it would, in like manner, be discoverable; but such is not the case. Hence, the objection that the Veda partakes of the nature of common sentences is refuted by opposing considerations. Consequently the Veda is superhuman. And such being the case, as we cannot suspect in it any fallibility occasioned by the defects of human reason, the preceptive texts of the Veda are demonstrated to be authoritative in questions of duty."

II.—*Vedārtha prakāśa*.—The verses just quoted are repeated in the *Vedārtha-prakāśa* of Mādhava on the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (p. 26), with a various reading at the beginning of the third line, viz., '*samākhyānam prarachanāt*' instead of '*samākhyā 'dhyāpakatrena*.' The comment by which the verses are explained in the same work, is as follows:—*Vālmīkiyaṁ Vaiyāsikīyam ityādi-samākhyānād Rāmāyaṇa-Bhāratādikaṁ yathā pauruṣeyaṁ tathā Kāthakaṁ Kanthumaṁ Twittirīyam ityādi-samākhyānād vedaḥ pauruṣeyaḥ | kiñcha veda-rākyam pauruṣeyaṁ rākyatvāt Kālidāsādi-rākyā-rad iti chet | maivam | sampradāya-pravṛtityā samākhyopapattēḥ | Vākyatva-hetus tv anupalabdhi-ciruddha-kālātyayāpadishṭaḥ | Yathā Vyāsa-Vālmīki-prabhṛitayas tad-grantha-nirmāṇācasare kaiśchid upalabdhāḥ | anyair apy avichhinna-sampradāyena upalabhyante | na tathā veda-karttā puruṣaḥ kaiśchid upalabdhāḥ | pratyuta veda-sya nityatvaṁ śruti-smṛitibhyām pūrvam udāhṛitam | Paramātmā tu veda-karttā 'pi na laukika-puruṣaḥ | tasmāt karttṛi-doshābhāvād nāsty aprāmāṇya-śaṅkā.* "It may be said (1) that

as the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, and other such books, are regarded as the works of men from the epithets *Vālmikiya* (composed by Vālmiki), *Vaiyāsikiya* (composed by Vyāsa), etc., which they bear, so too the Veda must be of human origin, since it is called by the appellations of *Kāṭhaka*, *Kauthuma*, and *Taittiriya*, etc.; and further (2), that the word of the Veda must be human, because it possesses the properties of a common sentence. But these objections are unfounded, for (1) the appellation of any part of the Veda is derived from some sage who was an agent in transmitting the study of it; and (2) the objection about the Veda having the properties of a common sentence is opposed to the fact that no author was ever perceived, and is refuted by the length of time [during which the Veda has been received as superhuman]. For though Vyāsa and Vālmiki, etc., when employed in the composition of their respective works, were perceived by some persons to be so engaged, and are known by others also [in after ages] to be the authors, from the existence of an unbroken tradition to that effect;—no human author of the Veda has ever been perceived. On the contrary, we have formerly shown that the eternity of the Veda is declared both by itself and by the Smṛiti. And even if the supreme Spirit be the maker of it; still he is not a mundane person, and consequently, as no defect exists in the maker, there is no reason to suspect fallibility in his work.”

I do not know how it has happened that these commentators have taken no notice of an obvious objection which may be raised to the validity of this reasoning, viz., that the hymns of the Rik and other Vedas are all set down in the Anukramanīs, or indices to those works, as being uttered by particular rishis; the rishis being, in fact, there defined as those whose words the hymns were—*yasya vākyaṃ sa rishiḥ*. (See Colebrooke’s Misc. Ess. i. 26, or p. 12 of W. and N.’s ed.) Though, however, this objection has not been noticed in any of the preceding passages, an answer has been provided to it in the well-known assertion of the orthodox Indian writers that the rishis did not

compose, but only *saw* the hymns and other parts of the Vedas, which had in reality pre-existed from eternity.

Thus, in the Vedārtha-prakāśa on the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, p. 11, it is said : *Atīndriyārtha-drashṭāra ṛishayaḥ | Teshāṁ veda-drashṭṛitraṁ smaryate | Yugānte 'ntarhātān'*⁴⁷ *Vedān setihāsān maharshayaḥ | Lebhire tapasā pūrram anujñātāḥ sayambhurā.* (Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, verse 7,660. See above, p. 73.) "The rishis were *seers* of things beyond the reach of the bodily senses. The fact of their *seeing* the Vedas is recorded in the Smṛiti : 'The great rishis, empowered by Svayambhū, formerly obtained, through devotion, the Vedas and the Itihāsas which had disappeared at the end of the [preceding] Yuga.'"

So, too, Manu (as already quoted, Part First, p. 142) says, *Prajāpatiṛ idaṁ śāstraṁ tapasairāśrijat prabhuḥ | Tathāiva vedān ṛishayas tapasā pratipedire.* "Prajāpati created this Śāstra (the Institutes of Manu) by devotion ; and by devotion the rishis obtained the Vedas."

See also the passages from the Nirukta in pp. 174 ff. and 205 of the Second Part of this work.

A distinct line of demarcation is generally drawn by the more critical Indian writers between the Vedas and all other classes of Indian Śāstras, however designated. The former are considered to be infallible, and to possess an independent authority ; while the latter derive their authority from the Veda alone, and (in theory) are infallible guides only in so far as they coincide with the Veda. This will be clear from the following passages.

I.—*Nyāya-mālā-vistara.*—"The first text which I will adduce has been already quoted in the Second Part of this work, but I shall repeat it here for facility of reference. It is from the Nyāya-mālā-vistara i. 3, 24. *Baudhāyanāpastambāśalāyana-kātyāyanādi-nāmāṅkitāḥ kalpasūtrādi-granthā nigama-nirukta-shaḍaṅga-granthā Manv-ādi-smṛitayaś cha apaurusheyāḥ | dharma-buddhi-janakatvāt | veda-vat | na cha mūla-pramāṇa-sāpek-*

⁴⁷ The text of the Biblioth. Ind. reads *tarhi tām*. I have followed the M. Bh., which evidently gives the true reading.

*atvena reda-vaishamyam iti śaṅkanūyam | utpannāyā buddhch
svataḥ-prāmāṇyāṅgikāreṇa nirapeṣatrāt || Mairam | uktānu-
mānasya kālātyayāpadishṭatrāt | Baudhāyana-sūtram Āpas-
tamba-sūtram ity eṣam puruṣa-namnā te granthā uchyante | na
cha Kāthakādi-samākhyā-rat prarachana-nimittatraṁ yuktam |
tad-grantha-nirmāṇa-kāle tadānāntanaiḥ kauschid upalabdhāt-
rāt | tachecha arichhinna-pāramparyeṇa anurarttate | tataḥ Kālī-
dāsādi-grantha-rat pauruṣheyaḥ | tathāpi reda-mūlatrāt pramā-
ṇam || . . . kalpasya cedatraṁ nādyāpi siddham | kintu prayat-
nena sādhanūyam | na cha tat sādhanitūṁ śakyam | pauruṣhe-
yatrasya samākhyayā tat-karttur upalambheṇa cha sādhitatrāt.*

“It may be said that the Kalpa Sūtras and other works designated by the names of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Aśvalayana, Kātyāyana, etc., and the Nigama, Nirukta, and six Vedangas, together with the Smṛitis of Manu and others, are superhuman, because they impart a knowledge of duty, as the Vedas do; and that they should not be suspected of inferiority to the Vedas on the ground that they depend upon a primary authority, since the knowledge which they impart is independent, because it is admitted to be self-evidencing. But this view is incorrect, for the inference in question is refuted by the length of time [during which these works have been recognized as human compositions]. The books in question are called by the names of men, as ‘the Sūtras of Baudhāyana,’ ‘the Sūtras of Āpastamba;’ and these designations cannot correctly be said to originate in the oral transmission of the works by those teachers whose names they bear (as is really the case in regard to the Kāthaka and other parts of the Veda), for it was known to some of the contemporaries of these men, at the time when they were composing these Sūtras, Smṛitis, etc., that they were so engaged; and this knowledge has descended by unbroken tradition. Hence the books in question are, like the works of Kālidasa and others, of human origin. Nevertheless, they possess authority, as being founded on the Veda.” . . . The following additional remarks represent the opinion of the Guru (Prabhākara) on the same

question : " It is not yet proved that the Kalpa Sūtras possess the character of the Veda ; it would require great labour to prove it ; and, in fact, it is impossible to prove it. For the human origin of these books is established by the names which they bear, and by their being observed to have had authors."

II.—*Kullūka*.—The same thing is admitted by Kullūka, the commentator on Manu, who (in his remarks on i. 1) thus defines the relation of his author to the Vedas : *Paurusheyatre 'pi Manu-vākyaṇām arigīta-mahājana-parigrahāt śrutyupagrahāchcha veda-mūlakatayā prāmāṇyam | Tathā cha chhāndogya-brāhmaṇe śrāyate ' Manur vai yat kiñchid aradat tad bhesajam bhesajatayāh' iti | Vṛihaspatir apy āha ' Vedārthopanibandhṛitrāt prādhānyaṁ hi Manoh smṛitam | Manvartha-riparitā tu yā smṛitiḥ sā na śasyate | Tārach chhāstrāṇi śobhante tarka-ryākaranāni cha | Dhurmārtha-moropadeśhā Manur yāranna dṛiśyate' | Mahābhārate 'py uktam ' Purāṇam Mānuro dharmah sāṅgo vedaś chikitsitam | Ājñā-siddhāni chatvāri na hantaryāni hetu-bhik' | virodhi Bauddhādi-tarkair na hantaryāni | anukūlastu mīmāṃsādi-tarkah pravarattanīya eva | uta eva vāryati ' ārshaṁ dharmopadeśhaṇcha veda-śāstrāvirodhinā | yas tarkenānusan-dhatte sa dharmāṁ veda netarah' iti.* " Though the Institutes of Manu had a human author, still, as their reception by illustrious men of unimpeached [orthodoxy], and their conformity to the Veda, prove that they are based upon the latter, they are authoritative. Accordingly it is recorded in the Chhāndogya Brahmana that, ' Whatever Manu said is a medicine of remedial efficacy.' And Vṛihaspati says : ' As Manu expounds the sense of the Veda, he is traditionally celebrated as pre-eminent. But that *smṛiti* which is contrary to the sense of Manu, is not approved. Books [on law ?], logic, and grammar are all eclipsed as soon as Manu, our instructor in duty, and in the means of attaining both earthly prosperity, and final liberation, is beheld.' And it is said in the Mahābhārata : ' The Puranas, the institutes of Manu, the Veda with its appendages, and treatises on medicine, these four, which are established by [divine] command,

are not to be assailed by rationalistic arguments ;' that is, they are not to be attacked by hostile reasonings, such as those of the Bauddhas. But friendly arguments, such as those of the Mīmāṃsakas, are to be employed. And accordingly, we shall find below (Manu xii. 106) that he says, 'the man who investigates the injunctions of the rishis, and the rules of duty by reasoning which is agreeable to the Veda, he, and he only, is acquainted with duty.'" (See above, p. 13, note 10.)

III.—*Nyāya-mālā-vistara*.—But the precepts of the *smṛiti* are not considered useless or superfluous. On the contrary, an authority is attributed to them corresponding to the antiquity, elevated position, and sacred character of their authors. Thus the author of the *Nyāya-mālā-vistara* says (i. 3, 3): *Vimatā smṛitir veda-mūlā | rāṣṭrika-manvādī-praṇīta-smṛitīcāt | upa-
yanādhyayanādi-smṛiti-rat | na cha vaiyarthyaṃ śaṅkariyam |
asmad-ādīnāṃ pratyacceshu pāroceshu nānā vedeshu viprakīr-
nasya anuśtheyārthasya ekatra saṅxiṇyamānateāt*. "The variously understood *smṛiti* is founded on the Veda, because the traditions, such as those regarding investiture, study, etc., have been compiled by Vedic men, such as Manu and others. Nor is it to be surmised that the *smṛiti* is useless, since it throws together in a condensed form a variety of injunctions regarding matters to be observed, which are scattered through different Vedas, both such as are visible and such as are invisible to us." (This last expression appears to refer to the supposition that some parts of the Veda which Manu and others had before them when compiling their own works, have now been lost. See Müller's *Anc. Sans. Lit.* pp. 103-107.)

Accordingly the *smṛitis* have an authority superior to that founded merely on the practice of learned men of modern date derived from their own private study of the Vedas. Thus the *Nyāya-mālā-vistara* says (i. 3, 19): *Na hi idānīntanūḥ śiṣṭāḥ
Manv-ādi-vaś dēśa-kāla-viprakṛiṣṭaṃ vedaṃ dīrya-jñānena sāx-
ātkarttuṃ śaknuvanti yena śiṣṭāchārō mūla-vedam anumāpayet*. "For learned men of the present day do not possess the power,

which **Manu** and others had, of placing before their minds, through divine knowledge, the Veda which was far removed from them both in place and time, so as to justify us in regarding the practice of these moderns as a sufficient ground for inferring the existence of a Veda as its foundation."

But as learned men, in any particular country or at any particular time, may be able to consult some *smṛiti* which authorizes their particular observances, "these observances may serve as ground for inferring the existence of some *smṛiti* on which they are founded, but not for inferring a Veda: (*tasmāch chhishktā-chāreṇa smṛitir anumātuṃ śakyate na tu śrutih*). But a *smṛiti* which is thus merely inferred to exist is set aside by any visibly existing *smṛiti* of contrary import: (*anumitā cha smṛitir virudhayaḥ pratyaxayā smṛityā bādhyate*)."

IV.—*Śankara*.—The above passages, by assuming that **Manu** and other eminent sages had the power of consulting Vedic texts now no longer accessible, make them practically almost infallible. The same view is taken by *Śankara Āchāryya*. (See, however, the passage quoted from him above, in note 31, p. 45.) In answer to the remark of a *Mīmāṃsaka* objector stated in the comment on the *Brahma Sūtras* i. 3, 32, that the *Itihāsas* and *Puranas*, being of human origin, have only a derived and secondary authority (*'itihāsa-purāṇam api paurusheyatrāt pramāṇūntara-mūlatām ākāṅkṣate*'), *Śankara* argues in his explanation of the following *Sūtra* (i. 3, 33) that they have an independent foundation: *Itihāsa-purāṇam api vyākhyātena mārgeṇa sambharad mantrārtharāda-mūlatrāt prabhacati devatāvighrahādi prapañchayitum | pratyaxa-mūlam api sambhacati | bharati hi asmākam apratyaxam api chirantanānām pratyaxam | tathā cha Vyāsūdayo devatābhikṣṇ pratyaxam vyavaharantīti smaryate | yastu brūyād idānīntanānām iva pūrveshām api nāsti devādibhir vyavaharttuṃ sāmārthyam iti sa jagad-eaichkṛtyam pratishedet | idānīm iva cha na anyadā'pi sārvaabhaumaḥ xatriyo 'stīti brūyāt | tataścha rājasūyādi-chodanā uparundhyāt | idānīm iva cha kālāntare'py avyavasthita-prāyān varṇāśrama-dhar-*

mān pratijānīta tataścha ryavasthā-ridhāyī śāstram anarthakaṁ kuryāt | Tasmād dharmotkarsha-rasūt chirantanā derādibhiḥ pratyaraṁ ryajahrur iti śliṣhyate | api cha smaranti 'scādhyā-yādishṭa-dratā-samprayoga' ityādi | yogo 'py animādy-aśvarya-prāpti-phalakak smaryamāno na śukyate sūhasa-mātreṇa pratyākhyātum | śrutiścha yoga-māhātmyam pratyākhyāpayati | 'prithvy-ap-tejo-'nila-khe samutthite pañchātmake yoga-guṇe prarūpita | na tasyo rogo na jarā na mṛityuḥ prāptasya yogād nimisham śarīram' iti | ṛishīṇāṁ api mantra-brāhmaṇa-darśināṁ sūmarthyam na asmadīyena sūmarthyena upamātauṁ yuktaṁ | tasmāt samānam itihāsa-purāṇam. "The Itihāsas and Puranas also, having originated in the way which has been explained, have power, as being based on the hymns and arthavādas, to evince the corporeality, etc., of the gods. It is also reasonable to suppose that they are founded upon intuition. For there were things palpable through intuition to the ancients, though they are not thus palpable to us.⁴⁸ Accordingly it is recorded in the *smṛiti* that Vyāsa and others associated face to face with the gods.⁴⁹ Any man who should maintain that the ancients, like his own contemporaries, were destitute of power thus to associate with superhuman beings like the gods, would be denying all variety in the history of the world. Such a person would in like manner affirm that as now there is no kshattriya possessed of universal sovereignty, so neither was there ever such a prince; and would thus impugn the scriptural injunc-

⁴⁸ See Part Second, p. 174; see also Prof. Muller's article on the Vaiseshika Philosophy in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vii. p. 311, where it is remarked that the Vaiseshikas, like Kapila, include the intuition of rishis under the category of *pratyakṣa* (*ārshaṁ jñānaṁ sūtra-kṛitī prithak na laxitam yogi-pratyakṣe 'utvibhārit*).

⁴⁹ Compare Hesiod, fragment 119: *ἔναι γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ἔναι δὲ θύοκοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι καταβήτοισι τ' ἀνθρώποις.*

"Immortal gods, not unfamiliar, then

Their feasts and converse shared with mortal men."

And Herodotus writes of the Egyptians, ii. 144: *Τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, δικάζοντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις.* "And [the Egyptian priests said] that before these men the gods were the rulers in Egypt, dwelling together with men."

tions regarding the *rājasūya* sacrifice [which was only to be performed by a universal monarch]. He would also allege that in former times, as now, the duties of castes and of orders were scarcely at all in force, and would thus render fruitless the scriptures by which the rules relating to them are ordained. By these considerations it is intimated that the ancients, in consequence of their eminent holiness, were admitted to associate immediately with the gods, etc. And the *smṛiti* speaks of 'contact with the gods made known by sacred study,' etc. Again, when the *smṛiti* talks of devotion resulting in the acquisition of superhuman faculties such as minuteness, this assertion cannot have been made through mere audacity [*i.e.*, it must have had some good foundation]. The Veda, too, declares the immense power of devotion in these words: 'When the fivefold influence of devotion, arising in the elements of earth, water, fire, air, and ether, has begun to act, and a man has attained an ethereal [?] body, he is no longer affected by disease, decay, or death.' And it is unreasonable to estimate by the analogy of our own power, the power of the rishis, the seers of the Vedic hymns and brahmanas. Wherefore the Itihāsas and Puranas have a foundation.'"

Śankara does not, however, treat all the ancients in this way. Like many other systematizers, he finds no difficulty in rejecting or explaining away any authorities which come into conflict with his views. It is thus that he deals with Kapila, the author of the Sāṅkhya. That eminent sage is thus spoken of in the Svetāśvatara Upanishad v. 2: *Yo yoniṁ yonim adhitishṭhaty eko viśvāṇi rūpāṇi yonīścha sarvāḥ | rishim prasūtaṁ Kapilam yas tam agre jñānair bibharti jāyamañcha paśyati*. "The god who alone superintends every source of production and all forms, who formerly nourished with various knowledge his son the rishi Kapila, and beheld him at his birth."⁶⁰

⁶⁰ See Ś'ankara's commentary on this passage in Bibl. Ind. vii. 351, and Dr. Rörer's translation, p. 62, with the note; also Dr. Hall's note in pp. 18 and 19 of the preface to his edition of the Sāṅkhya Pravachana Bhāṣya, in the Bibl. Ind.

In his comment on the *Brahma Sūtras* ii. 1, 1, Śāṅkara remarks on this passage of the *Upanishad* as follows:—*Yā tu śrutīḥ Kāpilasya jñānātisāyam darśayanti pradarśitā na tayā śruti-iruddham api Kāpilam mataṁ śraddhātūṁ śakyaṁ Kāpilam iti śruti-sāmānya mātratrād anyasya cha Kāpilasya sagara-putrāṇām prataptur Vāsudeva-nāmnah smaraṇāt | anyārtha-darśanasya cha prāpti-rahitasya asādhakatvāt | Bhacati cha anyā Manuḥ mātṛyaṁ prakhyāpayanti śrutir 'yad vai kiñcha Manuḥ acadat tad bhaṣajam' iti | Manuḥ cha 'sarva-bhūteṣu chātmanāṁ sarva-bhūtāni chātmani | samam paśyann ātma-yūjī srārjyam adhigachchati' iti sarvātmatā-darśanam praśaṁsatā Kāpilam mataṁ nindhate iti gaṁgātē | Kāpilo hi na sarvātmatā-darśanam anumanyate ātma-bheda-bhāṣayāt | ataścha ātma-bheda-kalpanayā 'pi Kāpilasya tantrasya veda-iruddhatvaṁ vedānusāri-Manu-rachana-iruddhatvaṁ na keralāṁ sra-tantra-prakṛite-parikalpanayā ceti siddham |* “And the Vedic text which has been pointed out, showing the pre-eminence of Kapila’s knowledge, cannot be a warrant for believing the doctrine of Kapila, though contrary to the Veda, since the word Kapila has, in this text, a general sense [applicable to others besides the author of the Śāṅkhya], and another Kapila called Vāsudeva, the consumer of Sāgara’s sons, also, is mentioned in the *smṛiti*; and since a darśana of a different import, devoid of benefit [?], has no power of proving anything. There is, besides, another text of the Veda which sets forth the eminent dignity of Manu in these terms, ‘Whatever Manu said is medicine.’ And Manu,—when he employs the words, ‘He who, with impartial eye, beholds himself in all beings, and all beings in himself, thus sacrificing his own personality, becomes identified with the self-refulgent Being;’ and, by saying this, commends the tenet that everything is one with the supreme Spirit—must be understood as censuring Kapila’s doctrine. For Kapila does not assent to the identity of Brahman and the universe, for we know that he holds a diversity of souls.” (After quoting one passage from the *Mahābhārata*, and another from the *Veda*, to

prove that Kapila is wrong, Śankara proceeds): "Hence it is proved that Kapila's system is at variance with the Veda and with the words of Manu, who follows the Veda, not only in supposing an independent Prakriti (nature), but also in supposing a diversity of souls."

IV.—See also Śankara's commentary on the Taittiriya Upanishad, Bib. Ind. vii. pp. 136, 137, where he says: *Kāpila-kānād-ādi-tarka-śāstra-virodha iti chet | na | teshām mūlābhāve veda-virodhe cha bhrāntyopapattē |* "If it be objected that this is contrary to the rationalistic doctrines of Kapila and Kanāda [and therefore wrong], I answer no, since these doctrines are proved to be erroneous, as having no foundation, and as being in opposition to the Veda."

V.—His remarks on a passage of the Praśna Upanishad are as follows, and afford a curious specimen of the contemptuous manner in which this orthodox Vedantist treats the heretical Sāṅkhyas, etc. (Praśna Up. vi. 4 ; Bib. Ind. viii. 244) :—*Sāṅkhyāstu avidyā-dhyāropitam eva puruṣe kottṛitraṁ kriyā-kāraṁ phalaṁcha iti kalpayitvā āgama-rāhyatrāt punas tatas trasyantāḥ paramārthata eva bhoktrītvam puruṣasya icchhanti | tattvāntaraṁcha pradhānam puruṣāt paramārtha-rastu-bhūtam eva kalpayanto 'nya-tārṅika-kṛita-buddhi-viśayāḥ santo vihanyante | Tathā itare tārṅikāḥ sāṅkhyair ity eam paraśpara-viruddhārtha-kalpanāta āmishārthina iva prāṇino 'nyonyāṁ viruddhamānā artha-darśitvāt paramārtha-tattvāt tuddūram eva apakṛishyante | atas tūmatam anādrītya vedāntārtha-tattvam ekatva-darśanam prati ādaravanto mumukṣavaḥ syur iti tārṅika-mate doṣa-darśanam kiñchid uchyate 'smābhir na tu tārṅika-tātparyyeṇa |* "The followers of the Sāṅkhya maintain that the functions of action, causation, and the enjoyment of reward become erroneously attributed to the soul (puruṣa) in consequence of supervening ignorance ; but as this doctrine differs from that of Scripture, they become afraid of it, and seek to ascribe to the soul enjoyment in the proper sense. And imagining another principle distinct from soul, viz., Pradhāna (or nature), which they regard as

substance in the proper sense, they become the objects of criticism by other rationalists, and are crushed. In consequence of these contradictory conceptions of the Sāṅkhyasts, other free-thinkers again begin to quarrel with them like animals [*dogs* he would no doubt have *liked* to say] fighting for flesh; and thus, from their having some selfish object [!] in view, they are all drawn away to a distance from the essential truth. Wherefore let men, disregarding their tenets, seek for final liberation by paying honour to the principles of the Vedantic doctrine, which maintains the unity of all being. We have thus pointed out something of the errors of the rationalists, but without any reference to the rationalists personally."

VI.—In thus depreciating Kapila, Śāṅkara is in direct opposition to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (which, however, is considered to be a work of later date⁶¹), in which the author of the Sāṅkhya is spoken of with the greatest reverence. Thus in Bhāg. Pur. i. 3, 10, he is described as the fifth incarnation of Vishnu. *Pañchamaḥ Kapilo nāma siddheśaḥ kāla-viplutam | provāchāsuraḥ saṅkhyam tattva-grāma-vinirṇayam |* "In his fifth manifestation, he [in the form of] Kapila, lord of saints, declared to Āsuri the Sāṅkhya which defines the collection of principles, and which had been lost through the lapse of time."

VII.—And again, in Bhāg. Pur. ix. 8, 12, 13, Kapila is made the subject of eulogy. A legend narrates that the sixty thousand sons of King Sagara, conceiving Kapila to be the robber of a horse which had been carried away from their sacrifice, advanced to slay him, when they were burnt up by fire issuing from his body. The author of the Purāṇa, however, denies that this was in any degree owing to *passion* on the part of the sage: *Na sādhu-vādo muni-kopa-bharjitā nṛpendra-putrā iti sattva-dhāmani | katham tamo roshamayaṁ vibhāvyaḥ jagat-pavitrātmani kṛte rajo bhuvaḥ | yasycritā saṅkhyamayī dṛḍheha naur yayā mumuxus tarate duratyayam | bhavārṇavam mṛityupatham vipāśchitāḥ parātma-bhūtasya katham prithaṅmatih |* "It is not an

⁶¹ See Wilson's Vish. Pur. pref. pp. xxviii. ff.

assertion befitting a good man to say that the king's sons were burnt up by the wrath of the sage : for how is it conceivable that the darkness (*tamas*) of anger should reside in the abode of goodness (*sattva*) and sanctifier of the world ; or that the dust (*rajas*) of the earth should ascend into the sky ? How could that sage by whom the strong ship of the Sāṅkhya was launched, on which the man seeking emancipation crosses the ocean of existence, hard to be traversed, and leading to death—how could he entertain the distinction of friend and foe [and so treat any one as an enemy] ? ”

It is not necessary for me to quote any further passages in praise of the author of the Sāṅkhya. There is a great deal about this system in the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, verses 11,037 ff. See Colebrooke's Essays i. 236 (p. 149 of W. and N.'s ed.) ; Wilson's Vishnu Purana, pref. pp. lix, lx, and text, pp. 9 ff. with notes ; Bhāgavata Purana iii. chapters 24-30 ; Weber's Ind. Stud. passim ; Dr. Röer's Introduction to Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, Bibl. Ind. xv. 35 ff. ; and Dr. Hall's Sāṅkhya Pravachana Bhāṣhya, Bibl. Ind. pref. pp. 5, note, 18, note.

We have thus seen that a distinct line of demarcation is drawn by the most accurate and critical of the Indian writers, between the *śruti*, which they define to be superhuman and independent, and the *smṛiti*, which they regard as of human origin, and dependent for its authority on its conformity with the *śruti*. Śāṅkara, indeed, as we have also observed, goes very nearly so far as to assign an independent foundation to the *smṛitis* ; but he confines this distinction to such of these works as coincide in doctrine with the *śruti* or Veda, according to his own Vedantic interpretation of its principles, while all other speculators are denounced by him as heterodox. It is, however, clear from the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad Gītā, the Vishnu, and the Bhāgavata Puranas, etc., that the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya must have been very prevalent in ancient times, and that Śāṅkara, when he condemned them as erroneous, must have done so in the face of many powerful opponents.

It is not necessary for me here to inquire with any accuracy what the relation was in which the different philosophical systems stood to each other in former ages. It may suffice to say that the more philosophical adherents of each—of the Vedānta, the Sāṅkhya, the Nyāya, etc.—must, according to all appearance, have maintained their respective principles with the utmost earnestness and tenacity, and could not have admitted that any of the rival systems was superior to their own in any particular. It is impossible to study the Sūtras of the several schools, and come to any other conclusion. The more popular systems of the Purāṇas, on the other hand, blended various tenets of the different systems syncretically together. In modern times the superior orthodoxy of the Vedānta seems to be generally admitted. But even those who hold this opinion refuse to follow the example of Śaṅkara in denouncing the founders of the rival schools as heretical. On the contrary, they regard them all as inspired Munis, who, by adapting their doctrines to the capacities or tendencies of different students, have paved the way for the ultimate reception of the Vedāntic system. Such is the view taken in the Prasthāna-bheda of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who thus writes (Weber's Indische Studien, i. 23):

*Sarveśhāṇcha saṅkṣepena trivīdha eva prasthāna-bhedaḥ | tatra ārambha-cādu
ekah | parināma-cādo daitīyah | cicartta-cādas tṛitīyah | pārthi-
vāpya-taijasa-rāyarīyāś' chaturvīdhāḥ paramāṇaro deyaṇukāli-
kramena brahmāṇḍa-paryantaṁ jagad ārambhante | asad eva
kāryyaṁ kāraṇa-ryāpārād utpadyate iti prathamā tārīkikāṇām
mīmāṃsakaṇāṇcha | sattra-rajas-tamo-guṇātmakam pradhānam
eva mahad-ahankārādi-kramena jagad-ākāreṇa parinamate |
pūrṇam api sūṛma-rūpeṇa sad eva kāryyaṁ kāraṇa-ryāpāreṇa
abhīryajyate iti dritīyah paxaḥ Sāṅkhya-Yoga-Pātañjala-Pāśu-
patānām | Brahmanah parināmo jagad iti Vaiśṇavāṇām |
sra-prakāśa-paramānandādaitīyam Brahma sra-māyā-caśūd
mithyaiva jagad-ākāreṇa kalpate iti tṛitīyah paxo Brahma-
vādinām | sarveśham prasthāna-karttṛiṇām muninām cicartta-
vāda-paryavasānena advitīye Paramēśvare eva pratipādye*

tātparyam | na hi te munayo bhrāntāḥ sarvairānātrāt teshāṃ kintu vahir-vishaya-pravaṇānām āpātataḥ puruṣhārthe praveśo na sambharati iti nāstikya-vāraṇāya taiḥ prakāra-bhedāḥ pradarśitāḥ | tatra teshāṃ tātparyam abuddhrā veda-viruddhe 'py arthe tātparyam utprexamānās tan-matam eva upādeyatrena grihṇanto janā nānā-patha-jusho bhavanti | iti sarvam anacadyam | “The difference in principle between these various schools is, when briefly stated, three-fold. The first doctrine is that of a commencement of the world; the second is that of an evolution; the third is that of an illusion. The first theory, that of the logicians and Mīmāṃsakas, is this: atoms of four descriptions—earthly, aqueous, igneous, and atmospheric—beginning with compounds of two atoms, and ending in the egg of Brahma (the world), originate the universe: and effects *previously non-existing*, come into being from the action of a causer. The second theory, that of the Sāṅkhyas, Yogas, Pāṇjālas, and Pāśupatas, is that *Pradhāna* (or *Prakṛiti* = nature), consisting of the three *guṇas* (qualities), *sattva*, *rajas*, and *taṃas*, is evolved, through the successive stages of *mahat* (intellect), and *ahankāra* (consciousness), etc., in the form of the world; and that effects, which had *previously existed* in a subtle form, are [merely] *manifested* by the action of their cause. Another form of the theory of evolution is that of the Vaiṣṇavas [the Rāmānujas], who hold the universe to be an evolution of Brahma. The third view, that of the Vedantists (Brahma-vādis) is, that Brahma, the self-resplendent, the supremely happy, and the one sole essence, assumes, unreally, the form of the world through the influence of his own illusion (*Māyā*).

The ultimate scope of all the Munis, authors of these different systems, is to support the theory of illusion, and their only design is to establish the existence of one Supreme God, the sole essence; for these Munis could not be mistaken [as some of them must have been, if they were not all of one opinion, or, as those of them must have been who did not hold Vedantic principles], since they were omniscient. But as they saw that men, addicted

to the pursuit of external objects, could not all at once penetrate into the highest truth, they held out to them a variety of theories, in order that they might not fall into atheism. Misunderstanding the object which the Munis thus had in view, and representing that they even designed to propound doctrines contrary to the Vedas, men have come to regard the specific doctrines of these several schools with preference, and thus become adherents of a variety of systems. Thus all has been satisfactorily stated."

The view here taken by Madhusūdana of the ultimate coincidence in principle of all the different schools of Hindu philosophy, however mutually hostile in appearance, seems, as I have remarked, to be that which is commonly entertained by modern Pandits. (See Dr. Ballantyne's Synopsis of Science, advertisement, p. iv.) This system of compromise, however, is clearly a deviation from the older doctrine; and it practically abolishes the distinction in point of authority between the Vedas and the smṛitis, Darśanas, etc. For if the Munis, authors of the six Darśanas, were omniscient and infallible, they must stand on the same level with the Vedas, which can be nothing more.

To return, however, from this discussion regarding the hostility of Śāṅkara to the adherents of the Śāṅkhya and other rationalistic schools, and the opinions of later authors concerning the founders of those several systems. The distinction drawn by the Indian commentators quoted in this section between the superhuman Veda and its human appendages, the Kalpa-sūtras, etc., as well as the smṛitis, is not borne out by the texts which I have cited above (pp. 7, 18) from the Vṛihad Āranyaka, and Mundaka Upanishads. By classing together the Vedic Saṁhitās, and the other works enumerated in the same passages, the authors of the Upanishads seem to place them all upon an equal footing. If the one set of works are superhuman, it may fairly be argued that the others are so likewise. According to the Mundaka Upanishad, neither of them (if we except only the Vedāntas or Upanishads) can be placed in the highest rank, as they equally inculcate a science which is only of secondary importance.

As, however, Śankara, in his comment on the text from the Vṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, maintains that the whole of the works enumerated, excepting the Saṁhitās of the four Vedas, are in reality portions of the Brahmanas, it will be necessary to quote his remarks, which are as follows (Bibl. Ind. ii. 855 ff.) :

. . . *Nīścasitam ira nīścasitam | yathā aprayatnenaiva puru-
sha-nīścāso bharaty eram eā | arc kiṁ tad nīścasitāṁ tato jātām
ity uchyate | Tad ṛigredo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgirasas'
chaturvidham mantra-jātām | itihāsa ity Ūrvaśi-Purūravasor
sañvādādīr 'Ūrvaśi ha apsara' ityādi brāhmaṇam eva | purā-
ṇam 'asad eā idam agre āsūd' ityādi | vidyā devajana-vidyā
'vedaḥ so 'yam' ityādiḥ | upanishadaḥ 'priyam ity etad upāsita'
ityādyāḥ | ślokā 'brāhmaṇa-prabhaṇā mantrās tad ete ślokā' ity
ādayaḥ | sūtrāṇi vastu-saṅgraha-rūkyāni vede yathā 'ātmā ity
eva upāsita' ityādinī | anucyākhyānāni mantra-rīcaraanāni |
vyākhyānāni arthavādāḥ | . . . eram ashtavidham brāhmaṇam |
eram mantra-brāhmaṇayor eva grahaṇam | niyata-rachanārato
vidyamānasyaiva vedasya abhicyaktiḥ puruṣa-nīścāsa-rat |
nacha puruṣa-buddhi prayatna-pūrvaḥ | atah pramāṇam
nirapeṣa eva svārthe | . . . teva vedasya aprāmāṇyam āśaṅkate |
tad-āśaṅkā-nirṇitya-artham idam uktam | puruṣa-nīścāsa-rad
aprayatnotthitātrāt pramāṇam vedo na yathā 'nyo grantha iti |
“ ‘His breathing’ means, as it were his breathing, or it denotes
the absence of effort, as in the case of a man’s breathing. We
are now told what that breathing was which was produced from
him. It was the four classes of mantras (hymns), those of the
Rik, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharvāṅgirasas (Ātharvana); Itihāsa
(or narrative), such as the dialogue between Ūrvaśi and Purūravas,
viz., the passage in the Brāhmaṇa beginning ‘Ūrvaśi the Apsaras,’
etc. [Ś. P. Br. p. 855]; Purāṇa, such as ‘this was originally
non-existent,’ etc.; Vidyā (knowledge), the knowledge of the
gods, as ‘this is the Veda,’ etc.; Upanishads, such as ‘this is
beloved, let him reverence it,’ etc.; Ślokas, such as those here
mentioned, ‘the mantras are the sources of the Brahmanas, on
which subject there are these ślokas,’ etc.; Sūtras (aphorisms)*

occurring in the Veda which condense the substance of doctrines, as 'it is the soul, let him adore,' etc.; Anuvyākhyānas, or interpretations of the mantras; Vyākhyānas, or explanatory remarks." The commentator adds alternative explanations of the two last terms, and then proceeds: "Here, therefore, eight sorts of texts occurring in the Brahmanas are referred to; and consequently the passage before us embraces merely mantras and Brahmanas. The manifestation of the Veda, which already existed in a fixed form of composition, is compared to the breathing of a person: the Veda was not the result of effort proceeding from the conscious intelligence of any individual. Consequently, as proof in respect of itself, it is independent of everything else."

Śankara terminates his comment on this passage by intimating that the author of the Upanishad means to remove a doubt regarding the authority of the Veda, arising apparently from its unreality, if it were regarded as created by a conscious effort of Brahma, and therefore as distinct from him, the only really existing being, and concludes that "the Veda, unlike all other books, is authoritative, because it was produced without any effort of will, like a man's breathing." (See Sāukhya Sūtras, v. 50; above p. 83.)

This attempt to explain the whole of the eight classes of works enumerated in the Upanishad as nothing else than parts of the Brahmanas, cannot be regarded as altogether satisfactory, since some of them, such as the Sūtras, have always been referred to a distinct class of writings, which are regarded as uninspired (see Müller's *Anc. Ind. Lit.* pp. 75, 86); and the Itihāsas and Puranas had in all probability become a distinct class of writings at the period when the Upanishad was composed. And Śankara's explanation is rendered more improbable if we compare with this passage the other from the Mundaka Upanishad, i. 1, 5, already quoted above (p. 18), where it is said, "the inferior science consists of the Rik, Yajush, Sāma, and Atharva Vedas, accentuation (*śikṣā*), ritual prescriptions (*kalpa*), grammar, commentary (*nirukta*),

prosody (*chhandas*), and astronomy.”⁵² Here various appendages of the Vedas, which later writers expressly distinguish from the Vedas themselves, and distinctly declare to have no superhuman authority, are yet mentioned in the same category with the four Sanhitās, or collections of the hymns, as constituting the inferior science (in opposition to the knowledge of the supreme Spirit). From this we may reasonably infer that the author of the Vṛihad Āranyaka Upanishad also, when he specifies the Sūtras and some of the other works which he enumerates, intended to speak of the Vedangas or appendages of the Vedas, and perhaps the smṛitis also, as being the breathing of Brahma. The works which in the passage from the Mundaka are called Kalpa, are also commonly designated as the Kalpa Sūtras.

This conclusion is in some degree confirmed by referring to the passage from the Mahābhārata Ś. P. 7,660, which has been cited in p. 73, where it is said that the “great rishis obtained by devotion the Vedas, and the *Itihāsas*, which had disappeared at the end of the preceding Yuga.” Whatever may be the sense of the word *Itihāsa* in a Vedic work, there can be no doubt that in the Mahābhārata, which is itself an *Itihāsa*, the word refers to that class of metrical histories. And in this text we see these *Itihāsas* placed on a footing of equality with the Vedas, and regarded as having been, like them, pre-existent and supernatural. See also the passage from the Chhandogya Upanishad,

⁵² I take the opportunity of introducing here Sūyana's remarks on this passage in his Commentary on the Rig-veda, vol. i., p. 33. *Atigambhīrasya vedasya artham avabodhayitum śixādāni śhaḍ-angām pravṛittāni | ata eva teshām apara-vidyā-rūpatvam Mundakopaniṣady Atharvanikū ūmananti | ‘dve vidye’ ityādi | . . . sūdhana-bhūta-dharma-jñāna-hetuvāt śhaḍ-anga-sahitānām karma-kāṇḍīnām apara-vidyātvam | parama-puruṣārtha-bhūta-brahma-jñāna-hetuvāt upaniṣadānāṃ para-vidyātvam.* “The *śixā* and other six appendages are intended to promote the comprehension of the sense of the very deep Veda. Hence, in the Mundaka Upanishad, the followers of the Atharva-veda declare that these works belong to the class of inferior sciences, thus: ‘There are two sciences,’ etc. [see the entire passage in p. 18.] Since the sections of the Veda which relate to ceremonies [including, of course, the hymns], as well as the six appendages, lead to a knowledge of duty, which is an instrument [of something further], they are ranked as an inferior science. On the other hand the Upanishads, which conduct to a knowledge of Brahma, the supreme object of man, constitute the highest science.”

vii. 1, 1 ff. (Bibl. Ind., vol. iii., pp. 473 ff.) which will be given in the Appendix, where the Itihāsas and Puranas are spoken of as a *fifth Veda*. The same title is applied to them in the Bhūg. Pur. iii. 12, 39 : *Itihāsa-purāṇāni pañchamaṁ vedam Īśvaraḥ | sarvebhya eva mukhebhyaḥ sarīre sarva-darśanaḥ* | “The omniscient Īśvara (God) created from all his mouths the Itihāsas and Puranas, as a *fifth Veda*.”

SECT. X.—*Recapitulation of the Arguments urged in the Darśanas, and by Commentators in support of the Authority of the Vedas, with some remarks on these reasonings.*

As in the preceding sections (vi.-ix.) I have entered at some length into the arguments urged by the authors of the philosophical systems and their commentators, in proof of the eternity and infallibility of the Vedas, it may be convenient to recapitulate these reasonings, and to add such observations as the consideration of them may suggest.

The grounds on which the apologists of the Vedas rest their authority are briefly these :—First, it is urged that, like the sun, they shine by their own light, and evince an inherent power both of revealing their own perfection, and of elucidating all other things, past and future, great and small, near and remote (Sāyana, as quoted above, p. 44 ; Śankara on Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 3, above, p. 45, note 31 ; Sāṅkhya Sūtras, above, p. 84). Second, that they are not known to have had, and therefore could not have had, any human author, as the rishis merely *saw*, and did not *compose* them ; while, if they had any author, it was the deity, and as he is faultless, they could not have contracted any imperfection from being his work (Nyāya-mālā-vistara and Vedārtha-prakāśa, above, pp. 88 and 52). Third, that the language of which they are composed is eternal, and therefore they are eternal, and consequently (I presume) perfect

and infallible.⁵³ (Mīmāṃsā Sūtras and commentary; Brahma Sūtras with Śaṅkara's commentary; above, pp. 52-73.)

These arguments suggest a few remarks. In regard to the first ground for maintaining the infallibility of the Veda, viz., the evidence which radiates from itself, or its internal evidence, I need only observe that this is a species of proof which must be judged by the reason and conscience of each individual student. This evidence may appear conclusive to men in a certain stage of their national and personal culture, and especially to those who have been accustomed from their infancy to regard the Vedas with a hereditary veneration; whilst to persons in a different state of mental progress, and living under different influences, it will appear perfectly futile. It is quite clear that, even in India itself, there existed in former ages multitudes of learned and virtuous men who were unable to see the force of this argument, and who consequently rejected the authority of the Vedas. I allude of course to Buddha and his followers. (See also Part Second, p. 180 ff., where the objections of the rationalist Kautsa are detailed.)

In regard to the second argument, viz. that the Vedas must be of divine origin, as they are not known to have had any human author, I observe as follows. The Greek historian, Herodotus, remarks (ii. 23) of a geographer of his own day who explained the annual inundations of the river Nile by supposing its stream to be derived from an imaginary ocean flowing round the earth, which no one had ever seen, that *his opinion did not admit of confutation, because he carried the discussion back into the region of the unapparent* (ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνευέλκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον). The same might be said of the Indian speculators, who argue that the Veda must have had a supernatural origin, because it was never observed to have had a human author like other books;—that by thus removing the

⁵³ In the Vṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad (p. 688 of Dr. Roer's ed.) it is said: *Vṛchaiva samrūd Brahma jñāyate vāg vai samrūt paramam Brahma*. "By speech, o monarch, Brahma is known. Speech is the supreme Brahma."

negative grounds on which they rest their case into the unknown depths of antiquity, they do their utmost to place themselves beyond the reach of direct refutation. But it is to be observed (1) that, even if it were to be admitted that no human authors of the Vedas were remembered in later ages, this would prove nothing more than their antiquity, and that it would still be incumbent on their apologists to show that this circumstance necessarily involved their supernatural character; and (2) that, in point of fact, Indian tradition does point to certain rishis or bards as the authors of the Vedic hymns. It is true, indeed, as has been already noticed (p. 90), that these rishis are said to have only *seen* the hymns, which (it is alleged) were eternally pre-existent, and that they were not their authors. But as it appears to be shown by tradition that the hymns were uttered by such and such rishis, how is it *proved* that these rishis were not uttering the mere productions of their own minds? The whole character of these compositions, and the circumstances under which they appear to have arisen, are in harmony with the supposition that they were nothing more than the natural expression of the personal hopes and feelings of those ancient bards from whom they proceeded. In these songs the Arian sages celebrated the praises of their ancestral gods (while at the same time they sought to conciliate their goodwill by a variety of acceptable oblations), and besought of them all the blessings which men in general desire—health, wealth, long life, cattle, offspring, victory over their enemies, and in some cases also, forgiveness of sin and celestial felicity.

The scope of these hymns is well summed up in the passage which I have already quoted in Part Second, p. 206. “The rishis desiring [various] objects, hastened to the gods with metrical prayers.” The Nirukta, quoted in the same place, says: “Each particular hymn has for its deity the god to whom the rishi, *seeking to obtain any object of desire which he longs for*, addresses his prayer.”

And in the continuation of the same passage from the Nirukta (vii. 3), the fact that the hymns express the different feelings or

objects of the rishis is distinctly recognized:—*Paroxa-kritāḥ pratyaxa-kritāścha mantrā bhūyishṭhā alpaśa ādhyātmikāḥ* | *athāpi stutir eva bhavati na āśīrvāda* ‘*Indrasya nu vīryāni pravocham*’ *iti yathā etasmīn sūkte* | *athāpi āsīr eva na stutiḥ* ‘*suchaxā aham axībhyām bhūyāsaṁ sucarchā mukhena sūśrut karnābhyām bhūyāsam*’ *iti* | *tad etad bahulam ādhvaryave yājñeshu cha mantreshu* | *athāpi śapathābhīṣṭpau* | ‘*adyā murīya*’ *ityādi* . . . *athāpi kasyachid bhāvasya ūchikhyāsā* | ‘*na mṛityur āsīd*’ *ityādi* . . . | *athāpi paridevanā kasmāchchid bhārāt* | ‘*sudevo adya prapated anācrid*’ *ityādi* | *athāpi nindā-praśaṁse* | ‘*kevalāgho bhavati kevalādi*’ *ityādi* | *eram axa-sūkte dyūta-nindā cha kṛishī-praśaṁsā cha* || *evam uchchāvachair abhiprāyair ṛishīnām mantra-drishṭtayo bharanti* | “ [Of the three kinds of verses specified in the preceding section] those which address a god as absent, and those which address him as present, are the most numerous, while those which are addressed to the speaker himself [or the soul] are rare. It happens also that a god is praised without any blessing being invoked, as in the hymn (R. V. i. 32). ‘I declare the heroic deeds of Indra,’ etc. Again, blessings are invoked without any praise being offered, as in the words, ‘May I see well with my eyes, have a handsome face, and hear well with my ears.’ This frequently occurs in the *Ādhvaryava* (Yajur) Veda, and in the sacrificial formulæ. Then again we find oaths and curses, as in the words, (R. V. vii. 104, 15), ‘May I die to-day, if I am a *yātudhāna*,’ etc. (See Part First, p. 132). Further, we observe the desire to describe some particular state of things, as in the verse (R. V. x. 129, 2) ‘Death was not then, nor immortality,’ etc. Then there is lamentation, as in the verse (R. V. x. 95, 14), ‘The beautiful god will disappear and never return,’ etc. Again, we have blame and praise, as in the words (R. V. x. 117, 6), ‘The man who eats alone, bears the blame alone,’ etc. So too in the hymn to dice (R. V. x. 34, 13), there is a censure upon dice, and a commendation of agriculture. Thus the objects for which the hymns were seen by the rishis were very various.”

It is to be observed, however, that though in this passage the author, Yāska, speaks of the various desires which the rishis expressed in different hymns, he nevertheless adheres to the idea which was recognized in his age, and in which he doubtless participated, that the rishis *saw* the hymns.

I may also refer to the passage quoted from the Nirukta x. 42, in Part Second, pp. 391, 392, note, where the form of the metre in particular hymns appears to be ascribed to the peculiar genius of the rishi Paruchhepa.

In Nirukta iii. 11 a similar manner of regarding the rishi Kutsa is ascribed to the interpreter Aupamanyava: *Rishiḥ Kutso bhavati karttā stomānām ity Aupamanyavaḥ* | “‘Kutsa is the name of a rishi, a maker of hymns,’ as Aupamanyava thinks.”

I do not, as I have already intimated, quote these passages of the Nirukta to show that the author regarded the hymns as the ordinary productions of the rishis' own minds, for this would be at variance with the expression “*seeing*,” which he applies to the mental act by which they were created. It appears also from the terms in which he speaks of the rishis in the passage (Nirukta i. 20) quoted in p. 174 of the Second Part, where they are described as having an intuitive insight into duty, that he placed them on a far higher level than the inferior men of later ages. But it is clear that Yāska recognizes the hymns as being applicable to the particular circumstances in which the rishis were placed, and as being the *bonâ fide* expression of their individual emotions and desires. (See also Nirukta ii. 10 and 24, quoted in Part First, pp. 143, 144, and 124.) But if this be true, the supposition that these hymns, *i.e.*, hymns suited to declare the different feelings and wishes of all the different rishis, were eternally pre-existent, and were perceived by them at the precise conjunctures when they were required to express their several aims, is perfectly gratuitous and unnecessary, (and involves what Indian logicians call a *gaurava*).

In regard to the third argument for the authority of the Vedas, *viz.*, that they are eternal, because the words of which

they are composed are eternal, and because these words have an inherent and eternal (and not a merely conventional) connection with the significations or objects, or the *species* of objects, which they represent, it is to be observed that it is rejected both by the Nyāya and Sāṅkhya schools.⁶¹ And I am unable (if I rightly comprehend this orthodox reasoning) to see how it proves the authority of the Veda more than that of any other book. If the words of the Veda are eternal, so must those of the Bauddha books be eternal, and consequently the perfection and infallibility of these heretical works must be as much proved by this argument as the divine origin of the Vedas, whose pretensions they reject and oppose.

Against the eternity of the Vedas an objection has been raised, which Jaimini considers it necessary to notice, viz., that various historical personages are named in their pages, and that as these works could not have existed before the persons whose doings they record, they must have commenced to exist in time. This difficulty Jaimini attempts, as we have seen above (pp. 61, 63), to meet by explaining away the names of the historical personages in question. Thus Bahara Prāvalini is said to be nothing else than an appellation of the wind, which is eternal. And this method, it is said, is to be applied in all similar cases. Another of the passages mentioned by an objector (see above, p. 62) as referring to non-eternal objects is R. V. iii. 53, 14, "What are the cows doing among the Kikatas?" etc. The author of the Mīmāṃsa Sūtras would perhaps attempt to show that by these Kikatas we are to understand some eternally pre-existing beings. But Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, who had not been instructed in any such subtleties, speaks of the Kikatas as a non-Aryan nation. (Part Second, p. 362.) It is difficult to suppose that Jaimini—unless he was an enthusiast, and not the cool and acute reasoner he has commonly proved himself to be—could have seriously supposed that this

⁶¹ See Dr. Ballantyne's remarks on this controversy, in pp. 186, 189, 191 and 192 of his "Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy."

rule of interpretation could ever be generally received or carried out. The Brahmanas evidently intend to represent numerous occurrences which they narrate, as having actually taken place in time, and the actors in them as having been real historical personages. See, for instance, the two legends from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, quoted in the Second Part of this work, pp. 324 and 419. And it is impossible to peruse the Vedic hymns without coming to the conclusion that they also record a multitude of events, which the writers believed to have been transacted by men on earth in former ages. (See the passages quoted from the Rīg-veda in the First and Second Parts of this work, *passim*; those, for example, in Part Second, p. 208.)

We shall, no doubt, be assisted in arriving at a correct conclusion in regard to the real origin and character of the hymns of the Veda, if we enquire what opinion the rishis, by whom they were confessedly spoken, entertained of their own utterances; and this I propose to investigate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISHIS, AND THEIR OPINIONS IN REGARD TO THE ORIGIN
OF THE VEDIC HYMNS.

I HAVE already shewn, in the preceding pages, as well as in Part Second of this work, that the hymns of the Rig-veda themselves supply us with numerous data by which we can judge of the circumstances to which they owed their origin, and of the manner in which they were created. We have seen that they were the natural product and expression of the particular state of society, of the peculiar religious conceptions, and of all those other influences, physical and moral, which prevailed at the period when they were composed, and acted upon the minds of their authors. (Part Second, pp. 205 ff; and above, pp. 109 ff.) We find in them ideas, a language, a spirit, and a colouring totally different from those which characterize the religious writings of the Hindus of a later era. They frequently discover to us the simple germs from which mythological legends current in subsequent ages were derived,—germs which in many cases were developed in so fanciful and extravagant a manner as to prove that the correct tradition had long before disappeared, and that the lost details have been replaced by pure fictions of the imagination. They afford us very distinct indications of the locality in which they were composed (Part Second, pp. 354-372); they shew us the Arian tribes living in a state of warfare with surrounding enemies (many of them, no doubt, alien in race and language), and gradually, as we may infer, forcing their way onward to the east and south (Part Second, pp. 374 ff., 384 ff., 414 ff.); they supply us with numerous specimens of the par-

ticular sorts of prayers, viz., for protection and victory, which men so circumstanced would naturally address to the gods whom they worshipped, as well as of those more common supplications which men in general offer up for the various blessings which constitute the sum of human welfare; and they bring before us as the objects of existing veneration a class of deities (principally, if not exclusively, personifications of the elements, and of the powers either of nature, or of reason) who gradually lost their importance in the estimation of the later Indians, and made way for gods of a different description, invested with new attributes, and in many cases bearing new appellations.

These peculiarities of the hymns, combined with the archaic forms of the dialect in which they are composed, and the references which are made to them, as pre-existent, in the liturgical works by which they are expounded and applied, abundantly justify us in regarding them as the most ancient of all the Indian Scriptures,—as well as the natural product and the spontaneous representation of the ideas, feelings, and aspirations of the bards from whom they emanated.

We can also, as I have shewn, discover from the Vedic hymns themselves, that some of them were newer and others older, that they were the works of many successive generations of poets, that their composition probably extended over several centuries, and that in some places their authors represent them as being the productions of their own minds, while in other passages they appear to ascribe to their own words a certain divine character, or attribute their composition to some supernatural assistance. (Part Second, pp. 206 ff., 219 ff.)

I shall now proceed to adduce further proofs from the hymns of the Rig-veda in support of these last mentioned positions; repeating, at the same time, for the sake of completeness, the texts which I have already cited in the Second Part.

SECT. I.—*Passages from the Hymns of the Veda which distinguish between the Rishis as Ancient and Modern.*

The appellations or epithets applied by the authors of the hymns to themselves, and to the sages who in former times had instituted, as well as to their contemporaries who continued to conduct, the different rites of divine worship, are the following : *rishi*, *kavi*, *medhāvin*, *vipra*, *vipaśchit*, *vedhas*, *dīrghaśrut*, *muni*, etc. The rishis are defined in Boehtlingk and Roth's lexicon, to be persons "who, whether singly or in chorus, either on their own behalf or on behalf of others, invoked the gods in artificial language, and in song;" and the word is said to denote especially "the priestly bards who made this art their profession." The word *kavi* means "wise," or "a poet," and has ordinarily the latter sense in modern Sanskrit. *Vipra* means "wise," and in later Sanskrit a "Brahman." *Medhāvin* means "intelligent;" *vipaśchit* and *vedhas*, "wise" or "learned;" and *dīrgha-śrut*, a "man who has heard much." *Muni* signifies in modern Sanskrit a "sage" or devotee." It is not much used in the Rig-veda, but occurs in viii. 17, 13 (Part Second, p. 397).

The following passages from the Rig-veda either expressly distinguish between contemporary rishis and those of a more ancient date, or, at any rate, make reference to the one or the other class. This recognition of a succession of rishis constitutes one of the *historical* elements in the Veda. It is an acknowledgment on the part of the rishis themselves that numerous persons had existed, and events occurred, anterior to their own age, and, consequently, *in time*; and it therefore refutes, by the testimony of the Veda itself, the assertion of Jaimini (above, pp. 60-63, and 112) that none but eternally pre-existing objects are mentioned in that book.

If, under this and other heads of my inquiry, I have cited a larger number of passages than might have appeared to be necessary, it has been done with the intention of showing that

abundant evidence of my various positions can be adduced from all parts of the Hymn-collection.

R. V. i. 1, 2.—*Agnih pūrvebhir ṛishibhir īdya nūtanair uta | sa devān cha vaxati |* “Agni, who is worthy to be celebrated by former, as well as modern rishis, will bring the gods hither.”

The word *pūrvebhiḥ* is explained by Sāyana thus: *Purātanair Bhrigu-angirah-prabhṛtibhir ṛishibhiḥ |* “By the ancient rishis, Bhrigu, Angiras,” etc.; and *nūtanaiḥ* is interpreted by *idānintanair asmābhir api*, “by us of the present day also.”

R. V. i. 48, 14.—*Ye chid hi trām ṛishayah pūrve ūtaye juhāre ityādi |* “The former rishis who invoked thee for succour,” etc.

R. V. i. 80, 16.—*Yām Atharvā Manush pitā Dadhyaṇ dhiyam atnata | tasmin brahmāni pūrrathā Indre ukthā samagmata ityādi |* “In the ceremony [or hymn] which Atharvan, or our father Manu, or Dadhyane performed, the prayers and praises were, as of old, congregated in that Indra,” etc.

R. V. i. 118, 3 (repeated in R. V. iii. 58, 3).— . . . *Āhur viprāsaḥ Aśvinā purājāḥ |* “O Aśvins, the ancient sages say,” etc.

R. V. i. 131, 6.— . . . *Ā me asya vedhaso narīyaso manma śrudhi narīyasaḥ |* “Hear the hymn of me this modern sage, of this modern [sage].”

R. V. i. 139, 9.—*Dadhyaṇ ha me janusham pūrvo Angirah Priyamedhāḥ Kanvo Atrir Manur vidur ityādi |* “The ancient Dadhyane, Angiras, Priyamedhas, Kanva, Atri, and Manu know my birth.”

R. V. i. 175, 6.—*Yathā pūrrebhyo jaritribhya Indra maya iva āpo na tṛishyate babhūtha | Tām anu tvā nividaṁ johāvimi ityādi |* “Indra, as thou hast been like a joy to former worshippers, like waters to the thirsty, I invoke thee again and again with this hymn,” etc.

R. V. iv. 20, 5.—*Vi yo rarapśe ṛishibhir narebhir ṛriṣo na pakvaḥ sṛiṇyo na jetā | . . . achhā rivakmi puruhūtam Indram |* “I call upon that Indra, invoked by many, who, like a ripe tree, like a conqueror expert in arms, has been celebrated by recent rishis.”

R. V. iv. 50, 1.—*Tam pratnāsa ṛishayo didhyānāḥ puro viprā dadhire mandra-jihvam* | “The ancient rishis, resplendent and sage, have placed in front of them Bṛhaspati with gladdening tongue.”

R. V. v. 42, 6.—*Na te pūrve Magharan na aparāso na vīryam nūtanah kaśchana āpa* | “Neither the ancients nor later men, nor any modern man, has attained to [conceived] thy heroism, o Maghavan.”

R. V. x. 54, 3.—*Ke u nu te mahimanaḥ samasya asmat pūrve ṛishayo antam āpuḥ* | “Who among the rishis who were before us have attained to the end of all thy greatness?”

R. V. vi. 19, 4.—*Yathā chit pūrve jaritāra āsur anedyā anadyā arishṭāḥ* | “As [Indra’s] former worshippers were, [may we be] blameless, irreproachable, and unharmed.”

R. V. vi. 21, 5.—*Idā hi te verishataḥ purājāḥ pratnāsa āsuḥ purukṛit sakhāyah* | *Ye madhyamāsa uta nūtanāsa utācamasya puruhūta bodhi* | “For here, o energetic god, the ancients born of old, have been the friends of thee, who didst often approach them; and so too were the men of the middle and later ages. O much-invoked, think of the most recent of all.”¹

R. V. vi. 21, 8.—*Sa tu śrudhi Indra nūtanasya brahmanyato vīra kārudhāyah* | “Heroic Indra, supporting the poet, listen to the modern [bard] who wishes to celebrate thee.”

R. V. vi. 22, 2.—*Tam u naḥ pūrve pitaro navagvāḥ sapta viprāsaḥ abhi rājayantah ityādi* | “Him (Indra) our ancient fathers, the seven sages, desiring food, celebrated, performing the nine-months’ rite,” etc.

R. V. vi. 50, 15.—*Erā napāto mama tasya dhūbhir Bharadvājā abhyarchanti arkaiḥ* | “Thus do the Bharadvājās my grandsons adore thee with hymns and praises.”

R. V. vii. 18, 1.—*Tve ha yat pitaraś chid naḥ Indra viśvā vāmā jaritāro asanvann ityādi* | “Since, in thee, o Indra, our fathers, thy worshippers, attained all riches,” etc.

R. V. vii. 29, 4.—*Uto gha te purushyā id āsan eshām pūr-*

¹ This verse is translated in Benfey’s Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 76, col. i.

*reshām aśrinor rishkīnām | adhā aham tvā Maghavan johavīmi
tvām naḥ Indra aśi pramatīḥ piteva |* “They were men who
understood thy prowess : thou didst hear those former rishis.
I invoke thee again and again, o Maghavan ; thou art to us wise
as a father.” (The word *purushya* does not occur in any dic-
tionary to which I have access. I have followed M. Langlois
in giving the sense as above.)

R. V. vii. 53, 1.—*Te chid hi pūrve karayo grīnantah
puro mahi dadhīre devaput্রে |* “The ancient poets, celebrating
their praises, have placed before them these two great [beings,
heaven and earth] of whom the gods are the children.”

R. V. vii. 76, 4.—*Te id devānām sadhamādaḥ āsann rītārūnaḥ
kavayaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ | gūlham jyotiḥ pitaro anavindan satya-
mantraḥ ajanayann ushasam |* “They were the delight [?] of the
gods, those ancient pious sages. Our fathers discovered the
hidden light ; with true hymns they caused the dawn to arise.”

R. V. vii. 91, 1.—*Kucīd aṅga namasā ye vridhāsaḥ purā
devāsaḥ anaradyāsa āsan | te Vāyave Manave bādhitāya avāsa-
yann² ushasam sūryaḥ |* “Those gods who formerly grew
through reverence were altogether blameless. They caused the
dawn to rise and the sun to shine for Vāyu and the afflicted
Manu.” (Are we to understand *rishis* by the word *devāḥ* (gods)
which is employed here?)

R. V. viii. 36, 7.—*Śyārāśrasya sunvatas tathā śrinu yathā
aśrinor Atrēḥ karmāṇi kṛinvataḥ |* “Listen to Śyāvāśva
pouring forth libations, in the same way as thou didst listen to
Atri when he celebrated sacred rites.”

R. V. ix. 96, 11.—*Tvayā hi naḥ pitarah Soma pūrve karmāṇi
chakruḥ pavamāna dhīrāḥ |* “For through thee, o pure Soma,
our wise forefathers of old performed their sacred rites.”

R. V. ix. 110, 7.—*Tve Soma prathamā vrikta-varhisho mahe
vājāya śravase dhiyaṁ dadhuḥ |* “The former [priests] having
strewed the sacred grass, offered up a hymn to thee, o Soma, for
great strength and food.”

² See Benfey's Glossary to Sāma-veda, under the word *ras* 2.

R. V. x. 14, 15 (= A. V. xviii. 2, 2).—*Idaṁ nama ṛishibhyah pūrvajebhyah pūrvebhyah pathikṛidbhyah* | “This reverence to the rishis, born of old, the ancients, who shewed us the road.” (This verse may also be employed to prove that at the end of the Vedic period the rishis had become objects of veneration.)

R. V. x. 56, 14.—*Vasishthāsaḥ pītṛicad rācham akratu devān ṛlānā ṛishirud* | *ityādi* | “The Vasishthas, like the forefathers, like the rishis, have uttered their voice, worshipping the gods.”

R. V. x. 96, 5.—*Tram aharyathā upastutaḥ pūrvebhīr Indra hariḥśa yajrabhīḥ* | “Indra, with golden hair, thou didst rejoice, when lauded by the ancient priests.”

R. V. x. 98, 9.—*Tvām pūrve ṛishayo gīrbhīr āyan tvām adhvareṣhu puruhūta rīṣre* | “To thee the former rishis resorted with their hymns; to thee, thou much invoked, all men [resorted] at the sacrifices.”

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xviii. 5, 2.—*Imau te parār ajarau pata-trīṇau yābhyām ruxāmṣi apahaṁsi Agne* | *tābhyām patema sukritām u lokam yatra ṛishayo jagmuḥ prathamajāḥ purāṇāḥ* | “But these undecaying, soaring pinions, with which, o Agni, thou slayest the Raxases,—with them let us ascend to the world of the righteous, whither the earliest-born ancient rishis have gone.” (This verse is quoted in the Śatapatha Brāhmana, ix. 4, 4, 4, p. 739.)

The ancient rishis, as Śāyana says in his note on R. V. i. 2, were Bhṛigu, Angiras, and others whom he does not name. In another place we find Atharvan, Manu, Dadhyanch, and others mentioned. I will not attempt to give any critical account of these ancient sages. For some texts relating to Bhṛigu, I may refer to the First Part of this work, p. 152 ff.; and some passages relating to Manu will be found in the Second Part, pp. 324-332. In regard to Atharvan, as well as Angiras, Prof. Goldstücker's Sanskrit and English Dictionary, and in regard to the same personages and Dadhyanch, the Sanskrit and German Lexicon of Boehtlingk and Roth, may be consulted.

SECT. II.—*Passages from the Veda in which a distinction is drawn between the older and the more recent hymns.*

From the passages which I propose to bring forward in the present section, it will be found that the hymns which the rishis addressed to the gods are frequently spoken of as new, while others of ancient date are also sometimes mentioned. The rishis no doubt entertained the idea that the gods would be more highly gratified if their praises were celebrated in new, and perhaps more elaborate and beautiful compositions, than if older and possibly ruder, prayers had been repeated.

The fact that a hymn is called *new* by its author, does not, however, by any means enable us to determine its age relatively to that of other hymns in the collection, for this epithet of new is, as we shall see, applied to numerous compositions throughout the Veda; and even when a hymn is not designated as new, it may, nevertheless, be in reality of recent date, compared with the others by which it is surrounded. When, however, any rishi characterizes his own effusion as new, we are of course necessarily led to conclude that he was acquainted with many older songs of the same kind. The relative ages of the different hymns can only be settled by means of the internal evidence furnished by their dialect, style, metre, ideas, and general contents; and we may, no doubt, hope that much will by degrees be done by the researches of critical scholars towards such a chronological classification of the constituent portions of the Rig-veda.

The hymns, praises, or prayers uttered by the rishis are called by a great variety of names, such as *rich*, *sāman*, *yajush*, *brahman*, *arka*, *uktā*, *sūkta*, *mantra*, *manman*, *matī*, *manīshā*, *sumatī*, *dhī*, *dhīti*, *dhīshanā*, *stoma*, *stuti*, *sushṭuti*, *praśasti*, *śaṁsa*, *gir*, *rāch*, *rachas*, *nītha*, *nirid*, etc.

R. V. i. 12, 11.—*Sa nah stavāna ābhara gāyatreṇa navīyasā | rayiṁ rīravatim iṣham* | “Glorified by our newest hymn, do thou bring to us wealth and food with progeny.” (Sāyana

explains *navīyasā* by *pūrvakair apy asampāditena gāyatrena* | “A hymn not formed even by former rishis.”

R. V. i. 27, 4.—*Imam ā shu tram asmākaṁ saniṁ gāyatraṁ navyāṁsam* | *Agne deveshu pravochaḥ* | “Agni, thou hast announced [or do thou announce] among the gods this our offering, our newest hymn.”

R. V. i. 60, 3.—*Taṁ navyasī hṛida ā jāyamānam asmat-sukīrttir mudhu-jikram aśyāḥ* | *yam ṛitrijo vṛijane mānushāsaḥ prayasvanta āyavo jjananta* | “May our newest laudation reach thee, the sweet tongued, who art produced from the heart, whom mortal priests the descendants of Manu, offering oblations, have generated in battle.”

R. V. i. 89, 3.—*Tān pūrvayā nicidū hūmahe rayam Bhagam Mitram Aditiṁ Daxam Asridham ityādi* | “We invoke with an ancient hymn Bhaga, Mitra, Aditi, Daxa, Asridh [or the friendly],” etc. (*Pūrvakālīnayā* | *nityayā* | *nicidā* | *vedātmikayā vāchā* | “With an ancient—eternal, hymn—a Vedic text.” Sāyana.)

R. V. i. 96, 2.—*Sa pūrvayā nicidū karyatā Āyor imāḥ prajā ājanayad manūnām* | “Through the ancient laudatory hymn of Āyu he generated these children of the Manus.”

R. V. i. 130, 10.—*Sa no naryebhir ṛishakarman ukthais purāṇ dartaḥ pāyubhiḥ pāhi śagmaiḥ* | “Through our new hymns, do thou, showerer of favours, destroyer of cities, sustain us with invigorating blessings.”

R. V. i. 143, 1.—*Pra taryasīm navyasīm dhītim Agnaye vācho matiṁ sahasaḥ sūnave bhare* | “I bring to Agni, the son of strength, a new and energetic hymn, a vocal celebration.”

R. V. ii. 17, 1.—*Tad asmaī navyam Angiras-vad archata ityādi* | “Utter to him [Indra] that new [hymn] like the Angirases.” (“New, i.e., never before seen among other people.” *anyeshv adṛishṭa-pūrvam* | Sāyana.)

R. V. ii. 24, 1.—*Sa imām aviddhi prabhṛitiṁ ya īśishe* | *ayā vidhema navayā mahā girā* | “Do thou who rulest receive this, our offering [of praise]: let us worship thee with this new and grand song.”

R. V. iii. 1, 20.—*Etā te Agne janīmā sanāni pra pūrvyāya nūtanāni vocam* | “These ancient [and yet] new productions I have uttered to thee, Agni, who art ancient.” (Comp. R. V. viii. 84, 5, in the next section.)

R. V. iii. 32, 13.—*Yañ stomebhīr vārvīdhe pūrvyebhīr yo madhyamebhīr uta nūtanebhīh* | “[Indra] who has grown through ancient, middle, and modern hymns.”

R. V. iii. 39, 1.—*Indram matir hṛida ā vachyamānā achhā patiṁ stoma-tushṭā jigāti* | *ā jāgṛvir vidathe śasyamānā Indra yat te jāyate vidhī tasya* | 2. *divāśhid ā pūrvyā jāyamānā vi jāgṛvir vidathe śasyamānā* | *bhadraṁ vastrāni arjunā vasānā sā iyam asme sanajā pitryā dhīh* | “1. The song, fabricated by the bard, and uttered from the heart, proceeds to Indra the lord; it arouses him when chaunted at the sacrifice: be cognizant, Indra, of this [praise] which is produced for thee. 2. Produced before the dawn, arousing thee when chaunted at the sacrifice, clothed in beautiful and radiant garments,—this is our ancient ancestral hymn.” (*Pitryā* is rendered by Sāyana as *pitṛi-kramāgatā*, “received by succession from our fathers.”)

R. V. iii. 62, 7.—*Iyaṁ te Pūshann āghṛiṇe susṭutir deva navyasī* | *asmābhis tubhyaṁ śasyate* | “Divine and glowing Pūshan, this new laudation is uttered by us to thee.”

R. V. v. 42, 13.—*Pra sū mahe sūsaranāya medhām giram bhare navyasīm jāyamanām* | “I present to the mighty protector a mental production, a new utterance [now] springing up.”

R. V. v. 55, 8.—*Yat pūrvyam Maruto yachcha nūtanam yad udyate Vasavo yachcha śasyate* | *viśvasya tasya bhavathā naveda-sah* | “Be cognizant of all that is ancient, Maruts, and of all that is modern, of all that is spoken, Vasus, and of all that is sung.”

R. V. vi. 17, 13.—. . . *Suvīram trā svāyudham suvajram ā brahma navyam avase varṇityāt* | “May the new prayer impel thee, the heroic, well-accoutred thunderer, to succour us.” (“New, i.e., never made before by others: prayer, i.e., the hymn made by us.” *Nūtanam anyair akṛita-pūrram* | *brahma asmābhih kṛitam stotram* | Sāyana.)

R. V. vi. 22, 7.—*Taṁ vo dhiyā naryasyā śavishṭham pratnam pratnavat paritaṁsayadhyai* | “I seek, like the ancients, to stimulate thee, the ancient, with a new hymn.”

R. V. vi. 34, 1.—*Saṁcha tve jagmur gira Indra pūrvēr vi cha tvad yanti vibhvo manishāḥ | purā nūnaṁcha stutaya ṛishinām paspridhre Indre adhi ukthārkaḥ* | “Many prayers, Indra, are collected in thee; numerous hymns issue forth from thee; both before and now the praises, texts and hymns of rishis have hastened emulously to Indra.”

R. V. vi. 44, 13.—*Yah pūrvyābhir uta nūtanābhir gīrbhir vāvridhe grīnatām ṛishinām* | “He (Indra) who grew through the ancient and modern hymns of adoring rishis.” (See R. V. iii. 32, 13, above p. 123.)

R. V. vi. 48, 11.—*Ā sakhāyaḥ subardughām dhenum ajadhvam upa navyasā vacaḥ* | “Friends, bring hither the milch cow with a new hymn.”

R. V. vi. 49, 1.—*Stushe janāṁ suvratāṁ navyasibhir gīrbhir Mitrāvaruṇā sumnayanātū* | “With new praises I celebrate the holy race, with Mitra and Varuna, the beneficent.” (“The holy race, i.e., the divine race, the company of the gods,” *sukarmāṇām janāṁ dairyaṁ janāṁ deva-saṅgham* | Sāyana.)

R. V. vi. 50, 6.—*Abhi tyāṁ vīraṁ gīrvaṇasam archa Indram brahmaṇā jaritar narena* | “Invoke, o worshipper, with a new hymn, the heroic Indra, who delights in praise.”

R. V. vi. 62, 4.—*Tā naryaso jaramāṇasya manma upa bhūshato yuyjānasapti ityādi* | 5. *Tā valgū dasrā puruśākatamā pratnā navyasā vacasā rivāse* | 4. “These (Aśvins), with yoked horses, approach the hymn of their new worshipper.” . . 5. I adore with a new hymn these brilliant, ancient, and most mighty deliverers.”

R. V. vii. 53, 2.—*Pra pūrvaje pitarā navyasibhir gīrbhiḥ kṛiṇudhram sadane ṛitasya ityādi* | “In the place of sacrifice propitiate with new hymns the ancient, the parents,” etc.

R. V. vii. 56, 23.—*Bhūri chakra Marutaḥ pitryāṇi ukthāni*

yā vaḥ śasyante purā chit | “Ye have done great things, o Maruts, when our fathers’ hymns were sung of old in your honour.”

R. V. vii. 59, 4.—*abhi ra āvartt sumatir navīyasī ityādi* | “The new hymn has been directed to you.”

R. V. vii. 61, 6.—*Pra vām manmāni ṛichase navāni kritāni brahma juṣushann imāni* | “May the new hymns made in your honour, may these prayers gratify you.”

R. V. vii. 93, 1.—*Śuchiṁ nu stomam nava-jātam adya Indrāgnī Vṛittra-hanā jushetham* | *ubhā hi vām suhavā johavīmi ityādi* | “Indra and Agni, slayers of Vṛittra, receive with favour the pure hymn newly produced to-day. For again and again do I invoke you who lend a willing ear,” etc.

R. V. viii. 5, 24.—*Tābhīr āyātam ātibhīr naryasibhīḥ suśastibhīr yad vām ṛiṣhanvasū have* | “Come with those same succours, since I invoke you, bountiful [deities], with new praises.” (The epithet *naryasibhīḥ* in this text may possibly apply to the word *ātibhīḥ*, “aids.”)

R. V. viii. 6, 11.—*Aham pratnena manmanā girāḥ śumbhāmi Kanva-vat yena Indraḥ śushmam id dadhe* | “I decorate my praises with an ancient hymn, after the manner of Kanva, whereby Indra put on strength.”

R. V. viii. 6, 43.—*Imām su pūryām dhiyam madhor ghritasya pipyushīm Kanvā ukthēna ravṛidhuḥ* | “The Kanvas with their praises have augmented this ancient hymn, replenished with sweet butter.”

R. V. viii. 12, 10.—*Iyam te ṛitvīyāvatī dhītir eti navīyasī saparyantī ityādi* | “This new and solemn hymn advances to honour thee,” etc.

R. V. viii. 20, 19.—*Yūnaḥ ū su navisthayā vṛiṣṇaḥ pārakān abhi Sobhare girā* | *gāya ityādi* | “Celebrate, Sobhari, with a new hymn these youthful [gods] who shower down benefits and purify us.”

R. V. viii. 23, 14.—*Śrushtī Agne navasya me stomasya vira viśpate vi māyinas tapushā raxaso dāha* | “Heroic Agni, lord

of the people, listening [?] to my new hymn, burn up with thy heat the deluding Raxases."

R. V. viii. 25, 24.—*Kaśūvantā nīprū narishṭhayā matī maho vājīnāv arvantā sachā asanam* | "I have celebrated at once with a new hymn, these sage and mighty [princes], strong, swift, and carrying whips."

R. V. viii. 39, 6.—. . . *Agnir veda marttānām apīchyam* . . . *Agnir dārā vyūrṇute svākuto narīyasā* | "Agni knows the secrets of mortals . . . Agni, invoked by a new [hymn], opens the doors."

R. V. viii. 40, 12.—*Eva Indrāgnibhyām pītṛīrad narīyo Māndhātṛīrad Angirasvad avāchi ityādi* | "Thus has a new [hymn] been uttered to Indra and Agni after the manner of our fathers, and of Māndhātṛi, and of Angiras."

R. V. viii. 41, 2.—*Tam ū shu samanā girā pītṛīnāñcha man-mabhir Nābhākasya praśastibhiḥ* | *yaḥ sindhūnām upa udaye sapta-srasā sa madhyamaḥ* | "[Worship] him (Varuna) at once with a song, with the hymns of the fathers, and with the praises of Nābhāka. He who dwells at the birth-place of the streams, the lord of the seven sisters, abides in the centre." (This verse is quoted in the Nirukta x. 5. Nābhāka is said by Yāska to have been a rishi (*ṛishir Nābhāko babhūva*). A translation of the passage is given in Roth's Illustrations of the Nir. p. 135, where reference is also made to two verses of the preceding hymn (viii. 40, 4, 5), in which Nābhāka (the ancestor of Nābhāka) is mentioned thus: (verse 4) *Abhyarcha Nābhāka-vad Indragṇī yojasā girā* . . . (verse 5) *Pra brahmāṇi Nābhāka-vad Indrāgnibhyām irajyata* | "Worship Indra and Agni with sacrifice and hymn, like Nābhāka . . . Like Nābhāka, direct your prayers to Indra and Agni." In explanation of the seven sisters, Roth refers to Nir. v. 27 (R. V. viii. 58, 12) where the seven rivers are mentioned. See his Illustrations of Nir. pp. 70, 71.

R. V. viii. 44, 12.—*Agniḥ pratnena manmanā śumbhānas tanvaṁ svām kavīḥ vipreṇa vavṛidhe* | "The wise Agni, illuminating

his own body at [the sound of] the sage and ancient hymn, has become augmented."

R. V. viii. 55, 11.—*Vayaṁ gha te apūreṇyā Indra brahmāṇi rṛttrahan purutamāsaḥ puruhūta vajrivo bhṛitiṁ na pra bharāmasi* | "Indra, slayer of Vrittra, thunderer, invoked of many, we [thy] numerous [worshippers] bring to thee, as thy hire, hymns which never before existed."

R. V. viii. 63, 7, 8.—*Iyaṁ te naryasī matir Agne adhāyi asmad ā mandra sujātu sukrato amūra dasma atithe* | *sa te Agne śantamā chanishṭhā bhavatu priyā tayā vardhasva susṭutah* | "O Agni, joyful, well-born, wise and wondrous guest, this new hymn has been offered to thee by us; may it be dear to thee, agreeable and pleasant: lauded by it, do thou increase."

R. V. viii. 65, 5, 6.—. . . *Indraṁ gṛbhir hacāmahe* | *Indram pratnena manmanā marutrantam hacāmahe ityādi* | 12. (= S. V. ii. 340.) *Vācham ashtāpadīm aham nacasraktim ṛitasprīṣam* | *Indrāt pari tanram mame* | 5. "We invoke Indra with songs; we invoke Indra, attended by the Maruts, with an ancient hymn. . . 12. I twine round the body of Indra a verse of eight syllables and nine lines, abounding in sacred truth." (This verse is translated and explained by Professor Benfey, *Sāma-veda*, p. 255.)

R. V. ix. 9, 8.—*Nu naryase naryase sūktāya sādhyā pathaḥ* | *pratnavad rochaya ruchaḥ* | "Prepare (o Soma) the paths for our newest, most recent, hymn; and, as of old, cause the lights to shine."

R. V. ix. 42, 2.—*Esha pratnena manmanā devo devebhyah pari* | *dhārāya* [qu. *dhārayā*?] *pavate sutaḥ* | "This god, poured forth to the gods, with an ancient hymn, purifies with his stream."

R. V. ix. 91, 5.—*Sa pratnavad naryase viśvavāra sūktāya pathaḥ kṛṇuhi prāchaḥ ityādi* | "O god, who possessest all good, make, as of old, forward paths for this new hymn."

R. V. ix. 99, 4 (= S. V. ii. 983).—*Taṁ gāthayā purāṇyā punānam abhi anūshata* | *uto kṛipanta dhītayo devānām nāma*

bibhratīh | “They praised the pure god with an ancient song ; and hymns embracing the names of the gods have supplicated him.” (Benfey translates the last clause differently.)

R. V. x. 4, 6.— . . . *Iyañ te Agne naryasī manishā ityādi* | “This is for thee, Agni, a new hymn,” etc.

R. V. x. 89, 3.—*Samānam asmāy anapāvṛid archa xmayā divo asanam brahma naryam ityādi* | “Sing (to Indra) a new and unceasing hymn, worthy of him [?], and unequalled in earth or heaven [?].”

R. V. x. 91, 13.—*Imām pratnāya sushṭutiñ navīyasīm vocheyam asmāy usāte śṛinotu naḥ* | “I will address to this ancient [deity] my new praises, which he desires ; may he listen to us.”

“R. V. x. 96, 11.— . . . *Naryañ naryam haryasi manma nu priyam ityādi* | “Thou delightest in ever new hymns, which are dear to thee,” etc.

SECT. III.—*Passages of the Rig-veda, in which the rishis describe themselves as the composers of the hymns.*

In this section, I propose to quote, first of all, those passages in which the rishis distinctly speak of themselves as the authors of the hymns, and express no consciousness whatever of deriving assistance or inspiration from any supernatural source. I shall then adduce some further texts in which, though nothing is directly stated regarding the composition of the hymns, there is at the same time nothing which would lead the reader to imagine that the rishis looked upon them as anything else than the offspring of their own minds.

I shall arrange the quotations in which the rishis distinctly claim the authorship, according to the particular *verb* which is employed to express this idea. These verbs are (1) *kṛi*, “to make,” (2) *tax* (= the Greek *τεκταίνωμαι*), “to fabricate,” and (3) *jan*, “to beget, generate, or produce,” with others which are less explicit.

I.—I proceed to adduce the passages in which (1) the verb

kṛi, "to make," is applied to the composition of the hymns. (Compare R. V. vii. 66, 6, already quoted in the last section.)

R. V. i. 20, 1.—*Ayaṁ devāya janmane stomo riprebhīr āsayā | akāri ratna-dhātamaḥ |* "This hymn, conferring wealth, has been *made* to the divine race, by the sages, with their mouth [or in presence of the gods]."

R. V. i. 31, 18.—*Etena Agne brahmaṇā rārīdhasva śakti vā yat te chakṛima rūtā vā |* "Grow, o Agni, by this prayer which we have *made* to thee through [or according to] our power, or our knowledge."

R. V. i. 61, 16.—*Erā te hariyojanā surīkti Indra brahmāni Gotamāsaḥ akran |* "Thus, o Indra, yoker of steeds, have the Gotamas *made* for thee pure [or beautiful] hymns."

R. V. i. 117, 25.—*Etāni cām Āśvinā cīryāni pra pārvyāni āyaraḥ arochan | brahma kṛincanto vṛishanā yurabhyām surv-rāso vidatham ā radema |* "These, your ancient exploits, o Āśvins, our fathers have declared. Let us, who are strong in bold men, *making* a hymn for you, o bountiful gods, utter our offering of praise."

R. V. ii. 39, 8.—*Etāni vām Āśvinā vardhanāni brahma stomaṁ Gṛitsamadāsaḥ akran |* "These magnifying prayers, [this] hymn, o Āśvins, the Gṛitsamadas have *made* for you."

R. V. iii. 30, 20.—*Scaryavō matibhis tubhyaṁ viprā Indrāya vāhaḥ Kuśikāsaḥ akran |* "Seeking heaven, the sage Kuśikas have *made* a hymn with praises to thee, o Indra." (The word *vāhaḥ* is stated by Sāyana to be = *stotra*, "a hymn.")

R. V. iv. 6, 11.—*Akāri brahma samidhāna tubhyam ityādi |* "O kindled [Agni], a prayer has been *made* to thee."

R. V. iv. 16, 20.—*Eved Indrāya vṛishabhāya vṛishne brahma akarma Bhṛigavo na ratham | . . . 21. Akāri te harivo brahma navyaṁ dhiyā syāma rathyaḥ sadāsāḥ |* "Thus have we *made* a prayer for Indra, the productive, the vigorous, as the Bhṛigus [fashioned] a car. . . 21. A *new* prayer has been *made* for thee, o lord of steeds. May we, through our hymn (or rite) become possessed of chariots and perpetual wealth."

R. V. vii. 35, 14.—*Ādityā Rudrā Vasavo jushanta* (the Atharva-veda has *jushantām*) *idam brahma kriyamāṇaṁ navīyah | śṛṇvantu no dīcyaḥ pāṛthivāso gojātā ityādi* | “May the Adityas, Rudras, and Vasus receive with pleasure this *new* prayer which is being *made*. May the gods of the air, the earth, and the sky hear us.”

R. V. vii. 37, 4.—*Vayaṁ nu te dāśvāṁsaḥ syāma brahma kṛṇvantaḥ ityādi* | “Let us offer oblations to thee, *making* prayers,” etc.

R. V. vii. 97, 9.—*Iyaṁ vām Brahmanāspate surṛiktir brahma Indrāya vajrine akāri* | “Brahmanaspati, this pure hymn, [this] prayer has been *made* for thee, and for Indra, the thunderer.”

R. V. viii. 51, 4.—*Āyāhi kṛṇavāma te Indra brahmāṇi vaddhanā ityādi* | “Come, Indra : let us *make* prayers, which magnify thee,” etc.

R. V. x. 54, 6.—. . . *Adha priyam bhūṣham Indrāya manma brahmakṛito Vṛihadukthād avāchi* | “. . . An acceptable and honorific hymn has been uttered to Indra by Vṛihaduktha, *maker* of prayers.”

R. V. x. 101, 2.—*Mandrā kṛṇudhvaṁ dhiya ā tanudhvaṁ nāvam aritra-paranīm kṛṇudhvaṁ* | “*Make* hymns, prepare prayers, make a ship propelled by oars.”

It is possible that in some of these passages the verb *kṛi* may have merely the signification which the word *make* has in English when we speak of “making supplications,” etc., in which case it of course means to *offer up*, rather than to *compose*. But this cannot be the case in such passages as R. V. iv. 16, 20 (p. 129), where the rishi speaks of making the hymn as the Bhrigus made a chariot. And such an interpretation would be altogether inadmissible in the case of the texts which I next proceed to cite.

II.—Passages in which the word *tax*, “to fashion, or fabricate,” is applied to the composition of the hymns.

R. V. i. 62, 13.—*Sanāyate Gotamaḥ Indra navyam ataxad*

brahma hariyojanāya ityādi | “Nodhas, descendant of Gotama, fashioned this new hymn for [thee], Indra, who art of old, and who yokest thy steeds,” etc.

R. V. i. 130, 6.—*Imāṃ te vāchaṃ casūyantaḥ Āyaro rathaṃ na dhīraḥ śvapā ataxishuḥ sumnāya tvām ataxishuḥ* | “Desiring wealth, men have fashioned for thee this hymn, as a skilful workman [fabricates] a car, and thus they have disposed (*lit.* fashioned) thee to (confer) happiness.”

R. V. i. 171, 2.—*Esha raḥ stoma Muruto namascān hridā tashṭo manasā dhāyī devāḥ* | “This reverential hymn, o divine Maruts, fashioned by the heart, has been presented by the mind [or, according to Sāyana, ‘let it be received by you with a favourable mind’].”

R. V. ii. 19, 8.—*Erā te Ḡṛitsamadāḥ śūra manma arasyaro na vājunāni taxuḥ* | “Thus, o hero, have the Ḡritsamadas, desiring succour, fashioned for thee a hymn, as men make roads.” (Sāyana explains *vājuna* by “road;” but it generally means knowledge.)

R. V. ii. 35, 2.—*Imaṃ su asmai hridaḥ ā sutashṭam mantraṃ rochema kvid asya vedat* | “Let us address to him from the heart this well-fashioned hymn; may he be aware of it.”

R. V. v. 2, 11.—*Etaṃ te stomaṃ turi-jātu vipro rathaṃ na dhīraḥ śvapā ataxam* | “I, a sage, have fabricated this hymn for thee, o powerful [deity], as a skilful workman fashions a car.”

R. V. v. 29, 15.—*Indra brahma kriyamāṇā jushasva yā te śaviṣṭha naryā akarma | vastreva bhadrā sukrītā vasūyuh rathaṃ na dhīraḥ śvapā ataxam* | “O mighty Indra, regard with favour the prayers which are made, the new [prayers] which we have made for thee. Desirous of wealth, I have fabricated them like beautiful well-fashioned garments, as a skilful workman [constructs] a car.” (Compare R. V. iii. 39, 2; above, p. 123).

R. V. v. 73, 10.—*Imā brahmāṇi vardhanā Āśvibhyāṃ santu śantamā | yā taxāma rathān iva avochāma bṛihad namaḥ* |

“ May these magnifying prayers which we have *fashioned*, like cars, be pleasing to the Ásvins : we have uttered great adoration.”

R. V. vi. 32, 1 (= S. V. i. 322).—*Apūrvyā purutamāni asmai mahe vīrāya taxase turāya | vīrapśīne vajrīne śāntamāni vachāṃsi āsā sthavīrāya taxam* | “ To this great hero, vigorous, energetic, the adorable, unshaken thunderer, I have with my mouth *fabricated* copious and pleasing prayers, which had never before existed.”

R. V. vi. 16, 47.—*Ā te Agne řichā havir hridū tashṭam bharāmasi* | “ In this verse, Agni, we bring to thee an oblation *fabricated* by the heart.” (Comp. R. V. iii. 39, 1, in p. 123.)

R. V. vii. 7, 6.—*Etē dyumnēbhīr viśram ātiranta mantraṃ ye vā araṃ naryā ataxan* | “ These men who have skilfully *fabricated* the hymn, have by their praises [?] augmented all [their possessions ?].”

R. V. vii. 64, 4.—*Yo vāṃ garttam manasā taxad etam ūrddhvāṃ dhitiṃ kṛṇarad dhārayachcha* | “ May he who with his mind *fashioned* for you (Mitra and Varuna) this car, make and sustain the lofty hymn.” (The same expression *ūrddhvā dhitiḥ* occurs in R. V. i. 119, 2.)

R. V. viii. 6, 33.—*Uta brahmanyā vayan tubhyam pravṛiddha vajrīvo viprā ataxma jīrase* | “ O mighty thunderer, we, who are sage, have *fabricated* prayers [or ceremonies] for thee, that we may live.” (I take *brahmanyā* for the neuter plural, as it has no *visarga* in my copy of the R. V.)

R. V. x. 39, 14.—*Itaṃ vāṃ stomam Áśvinān akarma ataxāma Bhrīgavo na ratham | nī amṛīxāma yoshanāṃ na maryaṇe nityaṃ na sūnuṃ tanayaṃ dadhūnāḥ* | “ This hymn, Asvins, we have *made* for you ; we have *fabricated* it as the Bhrigus [constructed] a car [or we have, like the Bhrigus, *fabricated* a car] ; we have decorated it, as a bride for her husband, continuing the series [of our praises] like an unbroken line of descendants.”

(The following is Sāyana's comment on this passage, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller : *He Áśvinau*

*vām yuvayor etaṁ yathoktaṁ stomaṁ stotram akarma akurma |
 Tad etad āha | Bhṛigavo na Bhṛigava ina ratham ataxāma
 vayaṁ stotram saṁskṛitavantaḥ | karma-yogād Ribhavo Bhṛiga-
 vaḥ uchyaṇte | athavā rathakārā Bhṛigavaḥ | kiñcha vayaṁ
 nityaṁ śūśrataṁ tanayaṁ yāgādīnām karmaṇām tanitāraṁ
 sūnuṁ na aurasam putram iva stotraṁ dadhānā dhārayanto
 martye manushye nyamṛixāma yucayoh stutiṁ nitarāṁ saṁskṛi-
 avantaḥ |* “*Ásvins, we have made this preceding hymn or
 praise of you. He explains this. Like the Bhṛigus, we have
 made a car, we have carefully constructed a hymn. The Ribhus
 are, from this work being ascribed to them [?], styled Bhṛigus;
 or bhṛigus are chariot makers. Moreover, maintaining this
 praise as a constant perpetuator (like a legitimate son) of sacri-
 fice and other rites, we have polished, i.e., carefully composed a
 celebration of you among men [?]*”. (In this comment the word
yoshanā is left unexplained. In verse 12 of this hymn the
Ásvins are supplicated to come in a car fleetier than thought,
 constructed for them by the *Ribhus*:—*ā tena yātam manaso
 jāvīyasā rathaṁ yaṁ vām Ribhavaś chakrur Áśvinā |*)

R. V. x. 80, 7.—*Agnaye brahma Ribhavas tataxuh |* “The
Ribhus [or the wise] fabricated a hymn for *Agni*.”

III.—I next quote some texts in which the hymns are spoken of
 as being generated by the rishis. (Comp. R. V. vii. 93, 1, in p. 125.)

R. V. iii. 2. 1.—*Vaiśvānarāya dhishanām ṛitārīdhe ghṛitaṁ
 na pūtam Agnaye janāmasi |* “We generate a hymn, like pure
 butter, for *Agni Vaiśvānara*, who promotes our sacred rites.”

R. V. vii. 15, 4.—*Navam nu stomam Agnaye divaḥ śyenāya
 jñjanam | vasraḥ kuvid vanāti naḥ |* “I have generated a new
 hymn to *Agni*, the falcon of the sky; who bestows on us wealth
 in abundance.”

R. V. vii. 22, 9.—*Ic cha pārve ṛishayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra
 brahmāni janayanta vipraḥ |* “*Indra*, the wise rishis, both
 ancient and modern, have generated prayers.”

R. V. vii. 26, 1.—*Na somaḥ Indram asuto mamāda na
 abrahmāno maghavānaṁ sutāsaḥ | tasmāy ukthaṁ janaye yaj*

jujoshad nṛivad navīyaḥ śṛṇavad yathā naḥ | “The soma cheers not Indra unless it be poured out; nor do libations [gratify] Maghavan when offered without a priest. To him I generate a hymn such as may please him, that, after the manner of men, he may hear our new [song].”

R. V. vii. 31, 11.—. . . *Śuṛīktim Indrāya brahma janayanta nīpṛāḥ* | “The sages generated a pure hymn and a prayer for Indra.”

R. V. vii. 94, 1, 2 (= S. V. ii. 266).—*Iyāṁ vām asya man-manah Indrāgnī pūrvya-stutir abhrād vṛishṭir iva ajani | sṛṇutām jaritur havam ityādi* | “The excellent praise of this hymn [or the excellent hymn of this sage] has been generated [or, has sprung] for you, Indra and Agni, like rain from a cloud. Hear the invocation of your worshipper,” etc. (Benfey thinks *manman*, “spirit,” is to be understood of Soma, whose hymn, i.e., the sound of his dropping, resembles the falling of rain. The scholiast of the S. V. makes *manman* = *stotṛi*, “worshipper”).

R. V. viii. 43, 2.—*Asmai te pratiharyate Jātavedo richarshaṇe Agne janāmi sushṭutim* | “Wise Agni Jātavedas, I generate a hymn for thee, who receivest it with favour.”

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Ā trā ayam arka ūtaye ravarttati yaṁ Gotamā ajjjanan* | “This hymn which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us.”

R. V. viii. 84, 4, 5.—*Śrudhi havam Tiraśchyōḥ Indra yas tvā saparyati suvīryasya gomato rāyaḥ pūrdhi mahān asi | Indra yas te navīyasīm giram mandrām ajjjanat chikitrin-manasām dhiyam prasnām ṛitasya pipyuskim* | “Hear, Indra, the invocation of Tiraśchī, thy worshipper; replenish him with wealth in strong men and in cattle, for thou art great. Indra [do this for him] who has generated for thee a new and exhilarating hymn, springing from an intelligent mind, an ancient mental product, full of sacred truth.”

(These verses occur also in the Sāma-veda ii. 233, 234, and are translated by Professor Benfey, at pp. 230, and 250, of his edition. The hymn referred to in this passage is apparently

designated as both new and old. How can it be both? It may have been an old hymn re-written and embellished; ancient in substance, though new in expression. Compare St. John's Gospel, xiii. 34, and the First Epistle of St. John, ii. 7, 8, and iii. 11.)

R. V. ix. 73, 2.—... *madhor dhārābhir janayanto arkam it priyām Indrasya tanvam avīṛidhan* | “Together with the honied streams, *generating* the hymn, they have augmented the beloved body of Indra.”

R. V. ix. 95, 1 (= S. V. i. 530).—... *ato matir janayata svadhābhiḥ* | “Wherefore *generate* hymns with the oblations.” (Professor Benfey makes *janayata* the 3rd person singular of the imperfect middle, and applies it to Soma).

R. V. x. 7, 2.—*Imā Agne matayas tubhyaṁ jātāḥ gobhir aśvair abhi grīṇanti rādhaḥ* | “These hymns, Agni, *generated* for thee, supplicate [?] wealth with [or celebrate thy wealth in] cows and horses.”

R. V. x. 23, 5, 6, 7.—*Yo rācā vicācho mṛidhravācchaḥ purā sahasrā aśivā jaghāna* | *Tu tad id asya pauṁsyaṁ grīṇmasi pitā iva yas tarishiṁ vāvṛidhe śaraḥ* | *stomaṁ te Indra Vimadā ajījanann apūrryam purutamaṁ sudānave* | *Vidmā hi asya bhojanam inasya yad ā paśuṁ na gopāḥ karāmahe* | *mā kir naḥ enā sakhyā rīyaushus tara chu Indra Vimadasya cha rīsheḥ* | *Vidmā hi te pramatiṁ deva jāmi-vad asme te santu sakhyā śivāni* | “Who (Indra) with his voice slew many thousand of the wicked uttering confused and hostile cries. We laud his several acts of valour, who, like a father, augmented [?] our vigour and our strength. For thee, o Indra, who art bountiful, the Vimadas have *generated* a copious hymn, which never before existed (*apūrrya*); for we know what is gratifying to this our master; and we collect it together, as a cowherd assembles his cattle. Indra, may that friendship of ours never be dissolved, which exists between thee and the rishi Vimada: for we know thy wisdom, o god; may thy friendship be favourable to us, like that of a kinsman.”

R. V. x. 67, 1.—*Imām dhiyam saptaśirshnīm pitā naḥ ṛita-prajātām bṛihatīm avindat | turīyaṁ sṛj janayad nīśrajanyo Ayāsyā uktham Indrāya śansan |* “Our father hath discovered [or invented] this great, seven-headed hymn, born of sacred truth; Ayāsyā, friend of all men, celebrating Indra, has generated the fourth song of praise.” (In his Lexicon, Roth gives Ayāsyā as a proper name; but says it may also be an adjective with the sense of “unwearied.”)

R. V. x. 91, 14.—*Kīlāla-pe soma-pṛishṭāya vedhase hṛidā matiṁ janaye chārum Agnaye |* “With my heart I generate a beautiful hymn for Agni, the drinker of nectar, the soma-sprinkled, the wise.” (See also R. V. i. 109, 1, 2, which will be quoted below.)

IV.—In the following texts the verbal root *ṛi*, “to move, send forth,” etc., used with or without a preposition, is applied to the utterance or (it may even mean) the production of hymns.

R. V. i. 116, 1.—*Nāsatyābhyām barhiṣ iva pravṛiṇje stomān iyarmi abhriyā iva rātaḥ | yāc arbhagāya Vimadāya jūyām scnājurā ni āhatuḥ rathena |* “In like manner as I spread the sacrificial grass to the Nāsatyas (Aśvins), so do I send forth to them hymns, as the wind [drives] the clouds; to them (I say), who bore off to the youthful Vimada his bride in a chariot which outstripped the enemy’s host.”

R. V. vii. 61, 2.—*Pra vām sa Mitrā-Varuṇau ṛitūrā vipromanmāni dīrgha-śrud iyartti | Yasya brahmāni sukratū arāthaḥ ā yat krātū na śaradaḥ pṛinaithe [?] |* “The devout sage, deeply versed in sacred lore, sends forth his hymns to you, o Mitra and Varuna. You, mighty gods, receive his prayers with favour, since ye fill [prolong?], as it seems, his autumns by your power.”

R. V. viii. 12, 31.—*Imām te Indra susṭutīm vipraḥ iyartti dhītibhiḥ | jānim padū iva pipratīm pra adhvare |* “The sage, with praises, sends forth to thee this hymn, which like a sister follows [?] thy steps in the sacrifice.”

R. V. viii. 13, 26.—. . . *Ṛitād iyarmi te dhiyam manoyujam |*

“ . . . From the sacred ceremony I *send forth* a prayer, issuing from my mind [or, which will reach thy heart ?] ”

R. V. x. 116, 9.—*Pra Indrāgnibhyāṃ suvachasyām iyarmi sindhāv iva prerayaṃ nāvam arkaiḥ* | “ I *send forth* a [hymn] with beautiful words to Indra and Agni; with my praises I have, as it were, launched a ship on the sea.”

(Compare R. V. ii. 42, 1, spoken of Indra in the form of the bird called kapinjala, a sort of partridge : *Iyartī rācham ariteva nāvam* | “ It sends forth a voice, as a rower propels a boat.” See also R. V. x. 101, 2, quoted above, p. 130.)

V.—In the following passages, other verbs are employed to denote the composition or presentation of hymns.

R. V. i. 61, 2.—*Indrāja hṛidā manasā manīshū prasnāya patye dhiyo marjayanta* | “ To Indra, the ancient lord, they *prepared* [or polished] hymns [or ceremonies] with the heart, mind, and understanding.”

R. V. i. 61, 4.—*Asmai id u stomaiṃ sāmhinomi ratham na tashṭā iva tat-sināya ityādi* | “ To him (Indra) I *send forth* a hymn, as a carpenter a car, for his food,” etc.

R. V. i. 94, 1 (= S. V. i. 66).—*Imaiṃ stomam arkate Jātavedase ratham iva sam mahemā manīshayā* | *bhadrā hi naḥ pramatir asya saṃsadi Agne sukhye mā rishāmā rayam tara* | “ Let us with our intellects *decorate* this hymn for the adorable Jātavedas like a car, for his wisdom is favourable to us in the assembly. Agni, in thy friendship may we never suffer.” (The root *mah* means to honour or worship. I have partly followed Benfey’s translation.)

There is to be found in the hymns a great multitude of passages in which the rishi speaks of presenting his hymns and prayers to the various deities who are the objects of his worship, without directly claiming for himself the authorship of those compositions. The natural inference to be drawn from the expressions which we shall find to be employed in most of the cases to which I refer, would, I think, be that the personality of the rishi himself was uppermost in his mind, and that he was

not conscious that the praises which he was uttering to the gods proceeded from any other source than his own unaided faculties. Of this description are the following texts, which represent a manner of thinking and speaking very prevalent in the hymns.

R. V. i. 60, 5.—*Tam toā vāyam patim Agne rayīnām praśamsāmo matibhīr Gotamāsaḥ* | “We, the Gotamas, praise with hymns thee, Agni, the lord of riches.”

R. V. i. 77, 5.—*Eva Agnir Gotamebhīr ṛitāvā viprebhīr as-toṣṭa jātavedaḥ* | “Thus has the holy Agni Jātavedas been celebrated by the sage Gotamas.”

R. V. i. 78, 5.—*Arochāma Rahūgaṇā Agnaye madhumad vachaḥ* | *dymnair abhi pra nonumaḥ* | “We, the Rahūgas, have uttered to Agni a honied speech; we laud him with eulogies.”

R. V. i. 91, 11.—*Soma gīrbhis tvā vāyaṁ vardhayāmo vachovidāḥ* | *sumṛiṇīko na āriṣa* | “Soma, we who are skilled in speech magnify thee with praises; do thou enter into us, bringing joy.”

R. V. i. 102, 1.—*Imāṁ te dhīyam prabhare maho mahim asya stotre dhīṣṇā yat te ānaje* | “I present to thee, the great (god) this great hymn, because thy understanding has taken pleasure in my praises.”

(Sāyana renders *prabhare* by *prakarshena sampādayāmi* | “I carefully make or accomplish.” Roth renders *ānaje* “has been honoured.” See his Lexicon, under the word *āñj*.)

R. V. i. 183, 6.—*Atārishma tamasaḥ pāram asya prati vāṁ stomo Áśvināv adhāyi* | “We have crossed over this darkness; a hymn, o Áśvins, has been addressed to you.”

R. V. iv. 3, 16.—*Etā viśvā viduṣe tubhyaṁ vedho nīthāni Agne nīnyā vachāṁsi* | *nivachanā kavaye kāryāni āśāṁsisham matibhīr vipraḥ ukthaiḥ* | “Prudent Agni, to thee, who art wise, [have I uttered] all these songs and mysterious words; to thee, who art a bard, have I, a sage, uttered these hymns, these poems, with meditations and praises.”

R. V. iv. 32, 12.—*Arīṛidhanta Gotamā Indra te stomavā-*

hasaḥ | “The Gotamas, Indra, bringing hymns to thee, have magnified thee.”

R. V. v. 11, 5.—*Tubhya idam Agne madhumattamaṁ vachas tubham manishā iyam astu śaṁ hṛide* | *Tvāṁ girāḥ sindhum iva avanīr mahīr ā prīṇanti śarasā vardhayanti cha* | “Agni, may this sweetest of prayers, may this hymn (mental production) be pleasant to thy heart. As great rivers fill the ocean, so do the words of praise fill thee, and augment thee with strength.”

R. V. v. 22, 4.—*Agne chikiddhi asya naḥ idaṁ vachas suhasya* | *Taṁ tvā suśipra dampate stomair vardhanti Atrayo gīrbhiḥ śumbhanti Atrayaḥ* | “Vigorous Agni, know these our words; thee, with the beautiful nose, the lord of the house, the Atris magnify with praises, the Atris decorate with hymns.”

R. V. v. 45, 4.—*Sūktebhir vo rachobhir derajushtair Indrā nu Agnī arase huvadhyai* | *ukthebhir hi sma kavayaḥ suyajñā āvivāsanto Maruto yajanti* | “Let me invoke you for help, o Indra and Agni, with well-spoken words, such as are acceptable to the gods; for sages skilled in sacrifice, when performing sacred rites, quick as the Maruts [?], worship with hymns.”

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Taṁ vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anāṣhi arkaiḥ ityādi* | “I adore thee, the ancient, imperishable Indra with an excellent hymn and with praises.”

R. V. vii. 67, 5.—*Prācīm ū devā Áśvinā dhiyam me amṛīdhrāṁ sātaye kṛitaṁ vasūyum* | “O divine Áśvins, make my early and unwearied prayer which supplicates wealth, to be productive of blessings.”

R. V. vii. 85, 1.—*Punīshe vām araxasam manishām somam Indrāya Varuṇāya juhvāt* | *ghṛita-pratikām Ushasā na devīm ityādi* | “Offering soma to Indra and Varuna, I purify for you twain the sincere hymn, like the goddess Ushas, with glittering face.”

R. V. viii. 5, 18.—*Asmākam adya vām ayaṁ stoma vāhishtho antamaḥ* | *yuvābhyam bhātu Áśvinā* | “May this hymn of ours approach near to you, to-day, o Áśvins, and be effectual in bearing you hither.”

R. V. viii. 8, 8.—*Kim anye paryāsate asmat stomebhir Aśvinā | putrah Kanvasya vām ṛishir gīrbhir Vatsō avīṛidhat |* “Aśvins, do others than we [?] sit round you with songs? Vatsa, the son of Kanva, has magnified you by his hymns.”

R. V. viii. 27, 11.—*Idā hi va upastutim idā vāmasya bhaktaye upa vo viścavedaso namasyur āsṛixi |* “For now, possessors of all riches, now, in order to obtain wealth, have I, full of devotion, sent forth to you a hymn.”

R. V. x. 42. 1.—*Astū iva suprataraṁ lāyam asyan bhūshann iva prabhara stomam asmai | vāchā viprās tarata vācham aryo niramaya jaritaḥ some Indram |* “Like an archer discharging his far-shooting arrow, or as it were making decorations, present the hymn to Indra. Sages, by your song, overcome the song of the enemy; worshipper, arrest Indra at the soma.”

R. V. x. 63, 17.—*Eva Platch sūnur avīṛidhad ro viśce Ādityā Adite manīshī | ṛisānāso naro amartyena astūri jano divyo Gayena |* “Thus, all ye Adityas, Aditi, and ye ruling powers, has the wise son of Plati magnified you. The celestial race has been lauded by the immortal Gaya.” (I am unable to say in what sense the rishi here speaks of himself as immortal.)

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manīshkṇuḥ prabharadhvam manīshām yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛiṇam | Indraṁ satyair ā ṛrayāma kṛitebhiḥ sa hi vīro gīrvanasyur vidānaḥ |* “Sages, present the prayer, according as are the thoughts of men. Let us by our sincere rites stimulate [?] Indra, for he is a hero, he is wise, and loves our songs.”

In the following verse, from a hymn in praise of liberality, it is said, though no doubt only figuratively, that the *true rishi* is the prince who is bountiful to the priesthood.

R. V. x. 107, 6.—*Tam eva ṛishiṁ tam ū brahmāṇam āhur yajñanyaṁ sāmagam ukthaśasam | sa śukrasya tanvo veda tīro yaḥ prathamo daxiṇayā rarādha |* “He it is whom they call a rishi, a priest, a pious sacrificer, a chaunter of prayers, a singer of hymns; he it is who knows the three bodies of brilliant (Agni),—the man who is most prominent in bestowing gifts.”

SECT. IV.—*Passages of the Rig-veda in which a supernatural character is ascribed to the rishis or the hymns.*

In the present section I propose to collect the most distinct indications which I have noticed in the vedic hymns of any supernatural attributes attaching, in the opinion of the authors, either to the rishis themselves, or to their compositions. We shall see in the course of this enquiry (I.), that a certain superhuman character was ascribed by the later rishis, who composed the hymns, to some of their predecessors; (II.) that expressions are occasionally employed by the rishis which appear to ascribe their compositions to a divine influence *generally*; while there is a still more numerous set of texts in which the hymns are attributed in various forms of phraseology to the agency of one or more *particular* and specified deities; and (III.) that there is a considerable number of passages in which a mysterious or magical power is ascribed to the hymns or metres.

I proceed to furnish specimens of these several classes of quotations.

I.—I adduce some passages which ascribe a superhuman character or supernatural faculties to the earlier rishis. These are the following :—

R. V. i. 179, 2.—*Ye chid hi pārve řitasāpah āsan sākam devebhīr avadann řitāni | te chid avāsur ityādi* | “The pious sages who lived of old, and who conversed about sacred truths with the gods, led a conjugal life,” etc.

The sixty-second hymn of the tenth Mandala contains the following passage regarding the Angirases (see above, p. 120) :—

1. *The Angirases.*—R. V. x. 62, 1, 3.—*Ye yajñena daxīnayā samaktāh Indrasya sakhyam amṛitatvam ānaśa | tebhyo bhadrām Angiraso vah astu prati gribhñīta mānavam sumedhasah* | 3. *Ye řitena sūryam arohayan divi aprathayan pṛithivīm mātaram vi ityādi* | “Blessings be on the Angirases who, sanctified by sacrifice and liberality, attained the friendship of Indra and immortality. Do ye, o sage Angirases, graciously receive the

race of Manu. 3. They who by sacrifice caused the sun to ascend the sky ; and spread out our mother earth," etc. (My copy of the R. V. reads in the first line *ānaśa*. Perhaps it should be *ānasuḥ*, as in R. V. i. 164, 23.)

This is succeeded by the following verses :—

R. V. x. 62, 4, 5.—*Ayaṁ nābhā vadati valguvo grīhe deva-putrāḥ ṛishayas tat śrinotanu . . . | cirūpāsuh id ṛishayas te id gambhīra-repasah | Ṇgirasah sūnaras te Agneḥ pariḥajñire |* "This sage addresses you, brilliant beings, within [?] the house. Hear this, ye rishis, sons of the gods. The rishis are various in character, profound in emotion ; they are the sons of Angiras ; they have been born from Agni."

(The last verse is quoted in the Nirukta, xi. 17. See Roth's illustrations of the passage.)

2. *Vasishṭha*.—A supernatural character is attributed to Vasishṭha also in the following passage (portions of which have been already quoted and illustrated in Part First, pp. 75 ff. and 122.)

R. V. vii. 33, 7 ff.—*Trayaḥ kṛinranti bhucanasya retas tistrah prajāḥ āryāḥ jyotir-agraḥ | trayo gharmāsah ushasaṁ sachante sarvān it tān anuvīdur Vasishṭhāḥ |* 8. *Sūryasyeva vaxatho jyotir eskhām samudrasyeva mahimā gabhīrah | vātasyeva prajavo na anyena stomo Vasishṭhā anu etare vaḥ |* 9. *Te id ninyam hṛidayasya praketaiḥ sahasra-valśam abhi sañcharanti | yamena tatam paridhīm rayantaḥ apsarasah upa sedur Vasishṭhāḥ |* 10. *Vidyuto jyotiḥ parisañjihānam Mitrā-Varunā yad apaśyatām tvā | tat te janma uta ekaṁ Vasishṭha Agastyo yat tvā viśah ājabhāra |* 11. *Utāsi Maitrāvaruṇo Vasishṭha Ūrvaśyāḥ brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ | drapsam skannam brahmanū daivyena viśve devāḥ pushkare tvā adadanta |* 12. *Sah praketaḥ ubhayasya pravidvān sahasra-dānah uta vā sadānah | yamena tatam paridhīm vayishyan apsarasah pariḥajñe Vasishṭhah |* 13. *Satre ha jātāv ishitā namobhiḥ kumbhe retaḥ sisichituḥ samānam | tato ha Mānah udiyāya madhyāt tato jātam ṛishim āhur Vasishṭham |* 14. *Uktha-bhṛitam sāma-bhṛitam bibhartti grāvānam bibhrad*

pra vadāti agre | upa enam ādhraṁ sumanasyamānāḥ ā ro gachhāti pratrīdo Vasishṭhaḥ | “Three [gods] create the fecundating principle of the world; [there exist] three excellent productions of which light is the first: three fires attend upon the dawn: all these the Vasishthas know. The splendour of these [sages] is like the glory of the sun; their grandeur is profound as that of the ocean; their impetuosity is like that of the wind; your hymns, o Vasishthas, cannot be rivalled by any other bard. Through the longings of their hearts they seek after the mysterious [tree?] with a thousand branches; weaving the veil extended by Yama [Agni? see R. V. i. 66, 4.] the Vasishthas sat near the Apsaras. When Mitra and Varuna saw thee embracing the gleam of the lightning, that was thy birth, Vasishtha, and [thou hadst] one [other], when Agastya brought thee from the house. And, Vasishtha, thou art the son of Mitra and Varuna, born, o priest, from the mind of Urvaśī; all the gods received thee—the drop fallen through divine energy,—in the vessel. He the wise, knowing both [worlds?], lavishing a thousand gifts or all gifts, Vasishtha, seeking to weave the veil extended by Yama, was produced from the Apsaras. Born at the sacrifice, and impelled by adorations, they [Mitra and Varuna] let the same procreative energy fall into the jar; from the midst of this Māna (Agastya) issued forth; from this men say the rishi Vasishtha was produced. He directs [?] the singer of the *uktha* and the chaunter of the *sāman*; handling the soma stones, he leads the hymn; wait on him with reverence and good-will; Vasishtha comes to you.”

(Two of these verses are quoted in the Nirukta, verse 8, in xi. 20, and verse 11, in v. 13, 14. See also Prof. Roth's illustrations, p. 64, where he states his opinion that the foregoing verses which describe the miraculous birth of Vasishtha in the style of the epic mythology, are a later addition to an older hymn. I am unable to state the meaning of the word *pratrīdaḥ*.)

The two following passages also have reference to knowledge

supernaturally communicated, or favours divinely conferred on Vasishtha. See Part First, p. 77.

R. V. vii. 87, 4.—*Ucācha me Varuṇo medhirāya triḥ sapta nāma aghnyā bibharti | vidrān padasya guhyā na voched yugāya riprah uparāya śīraṇ |* “Varuna said to me, the sage, ‘the cow has thrice seven names.’ The wise and intelligent [god] instructing us, has declared the secrets of the celestial region [?] to this later generation.”

R. V. vii. 88, 4.—*Vasishtham ha Varuṇo nāri ādhād ṛishiṃ chakāra svapā mahobhiḥ | stotāram riprah sudinatre ahnāṃ yād nu dyāvas tatanan yād ushasah |* “Varuna has placed Vasishtha in the ship; the beneficent [deity] has, by his mighty deeds, made him a rishi, [and caused] his worshipper to enjoy a fortunate existence, so that his days and dawns have been prolonged.” (See Part First, p. 77, note 32; and R. V. x. 101, 2, and x. 116, 9, in pp. 130 and 137, above.)

3. *Viśvāmitra*.—In one or more of the texts which I shall next produce, a superhuman character is ascribed to Viśvāmitra and the Kuśikas.

R. V. iii. 29, 15.—*Amitrāyudho marutām ira prayāḥ prathamajāḥ brahmaṇo cīśram id viduḥ | dyummarad brahma Kuśikāsa erire chaḥ eko damc Agniṃ samādhire |* “Combating their foes, like hosts of Maruts, the first-born of Brahma [or prayer?] are masters of all knowledge; the Kuśikas have uttered a prayer accompanied with oblations; every one of them has kindled Agni in his house.” (See Part First, p. 125, note.)

R. V. iii. 43, 5.—*Kuvid mā gopāṃ karase janasya kuvid rājānam Maghavann ṛijīshan | kuvid mā ṛishim papivāṃsaṃ sutasya kuvid me vasvaḥ amṛitasya śīrāḥ |* “Thou assuredly makest me a shepherd of men; thou assuredly makest me a king, o impetuous Maghavan; thou assuredly makest me a rishi, a drinker of the soma; thou wilt assuredly bestow upon me imperishable wealth.” (See First Part, p. 85.)

R. V. iii. 53, 9.—*Māhan ṛishir derajāḥ derajūtaḥ astabhñāt sindhum arṇavaṃ nṛichaxāḥ | Viśvāmitro yad avahat Sudāsam*

apriyāyata Kuśikebhīr Indraḥ | “The great rishi (Visvāmītra), director of men, sprung from the gods, and god-impelled, stemmed the watery current. When Visvāmītra guided Sudās, Indra was propitiated through the Kuśikas.” (See Part First, pp. 124, 125. Indra himself is called a Kausika in R. V. i. 10, 11. See Part First, p. 82.)

According to R. V. ix. 87, 3, certain mysterious knowledge is said to have been possessed by Uśanas: *Rishir vipraḥ pura-etā janānām ṛbhur dhīra Uśanā kāryena* | *sa chid evēda nāhitaṁ yad āsām apichyaṁ guhyaṁ nāma gonām* | “A wise rishi, a leader of men, skilful, and prudent, is Uśanas, through his insight as a seer; he has known the hidden mysterious name applied to these cows.”

In some hymns of the tenth Mandala, the rishis are spoken of as “seeing” different objects of contemplation; thus in R. V. x. 72, 1, 2, it is said: *Devānāṁ nu rājaṁ jānā praro-chāma vipanyayā* | *uktheshu śasyamāncshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge* | *Brahmanaspatir etā saṁ karmāra iva adlumāt devānām pūrve yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata* | “Let us, from the love of praise, celebrate in chaunted songs the births of the gods—any of us who in this later generation may behold them. Brahmanaspati has kindled these births, as a blacksmith [blows a flame]: in the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprung from the non-existent.”

(The first of these verses is translated by Prof. Benfey in his Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 154.)

And in R. V. x. 79, 1, the rishi says: *Apāśyam asya mahato mahītvam amartyasya martyāsu viṣu* | “I beheld the greatness of this great immortal among the race of mortals.” (Here, however, as Agni is the subject, the poet might easily enough see him, while his imagination would supply the figurative attributes which he goes on to describe.)

A still more decided instance, however, of this use of the verb *to see*, in the sense of supernatural insight, may be found in the verse of the Vālakhilya already quoted in Part Second, pp. 220, which will be repeated below.

The next two passages speak of the *radiance* of the rishis.

R. V. viii. 3, 3 (= S. V. i. 250 and Vāj. S. 33, 81).—*Imā u tvā purūvaso giro vardhantu yā mama | pāvaka-varṇāḥ śūchayo vipāśchitāḥ abhi stomair anūshata |* “Lord of abundant wealth, may these prayers of mine magnify thee! Pure sages of fiery radiance have celebrated thee with hymns.”

R. V. viii. 6, 10.—*Aham id hi pituḥ pari medhām ṛitasya jagrabha | aham sūrya iva ajani |* “I have acquired the wisdom of [my] righteous father; I have become like the sun.”

The following texts, which occur in the last book of the Rig-veda, speak of *tapas* (“devotion” or “austerity”) being practised by the rishis much in the same way as the later epic literature does. This use of the word is not known in the earlier books of the R. V. (See Boehtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon, under the word *tapas*.)

R. V. x. 109, 4.—*Derā etasyām avadanta pūrve sapta ṛishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ |* “The ancient gods spoke of her, the seven rishis who sat down for devotion.”

R. V. x. 154, 2.—*Tapasā ye anūdhrīśyās tapasā ye srar yayuḥ | tapo ye chakṛire mahas tāms chid eva api gachchatāt |* 5. *Sahasra-nīthāḥ kavayo ye gopāyanti sūryam ṛishīms tapas-rato Yama tapojān api gachchatāt |* “Come to those who through devotion are invincible, who by devotion have gone to heaven, who have performed great austerity. 5. Come, Yama, to the sages of a thousand songs who guard the sun (see Wilson, Vish. Pur. pp. 234, 235), to the devout rishis, whose nature is devotion.”

R. V. x. 190, 1.—*Ṛitañcha satyañcha ablīddhāt tapaso adhyajāyata | tato rātrī ajāyata tataḥ samudrah arṇavaḥ |* “Right and truth sprang from kindled devotion; thence sprang night, thence the watery ocean.”

In R. V. x. 167, 1, it is even said that Indra attained heaven by austerity: *Tvaṁ tapaḥ paritapyā ajayaḥ svaḥ |* “By performing austerity thou didst conquer heaven.”

In some places the gods are said to possess in the most emi-

ment degree the qualities of *rishis*, or *kavis*. This may imply, *e converso*, that the rishis were conscious of a certain affinity with the divine nature, and conceived themselves to participate in some degree in the superior wisdom and knowledge of the deities.

R. V. i. 31, 1.—*Tram Agne prathamō Angirā ṛishir devo devānām abharat śivaḥ sakhā ityādi* | 2. *Tram Agne prathamō Angirastamaḥ kavir devānām paribhūshasi vratam* | “Thou, Agni, the earliest *rishi* Angiras, a god, wast the auspicious friend of the gods. . . . Thou, Agni, the earliest and most Angiras-like sage, decoratest the ceremonial of the gods.”

R. V. i. 66, 2.—. . . *Ṛishir na stubhā vīru praśastaḥ ityādi* | “Like a *rishi*, who praises [the gods], he (Agni) is famous among the people,” etc.

R. V. iii. 21, 3.—. . . *Ṛishiḥ śreshtatḥ samidhyase yajñasya pra avitā bhara* | “Thou, Agni, the most eminent *rishi*, art kindled; be the protector of the sacrifice.”

R. V. v. 29, 1.—. . . *Archanti tē marutaḥ pūta-durās tram eśhām ṛishir Indra asi dhīraḥ* | “The Maruts, endowed with pure force, worship thee; thou, Indra, art their *rishi*.” (Sāyana, however, here renders *ṛishi* by *drashṭā*, “beholder.”)

R. V. vi. 14, 2.—*Agnir id hi prachetāḥ Agnir vedhastamaḥ ṛishiḥ* | “Agni is wise; Agni is a most sage *rishi*.”

R. V. viii. 6, 41.—*Ṛishir hi pūreajā asi ckaḥ īśanaḥ ojasā Indra choshkūyase rasu* | “Thou art an anciently-born *rishi*, who alone rulest by thy might; Indra, thou lavishest riches.”

R. V. viii. 16, 7.—*Indro brahmā Indratḥ ṛishir Indratḥ purū-puru-kūtaḥ* | *mahān mahābhiḥ śachābhiḥ* | “Indra is a priest, Indra is a *rishi*, Indra is much invoked; he is great through his great exploits.”

R. V. ix. 96, 18 (= S. V. ii. 526).—*Ṛishimanā yaḥ ṛishikrit svarshāḥ sahasranītaḥ padavīḥ karinām* | “Soma, *rishi*-minded, *rishi*-maker, bestower of good, lord of a thousand songs, the path [leader?] of sages,” etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.—. . . *Ṛishir vipro vichaxanas traṁ kavir*

abhavo devavītamah ityādi | “A *rishi*, a sage, intelligent, thou (Soma) wast a poet, most devoted to the gods,” etc.

R. V. x. 27, 22.—... *Indrāya sunvad rishaye cha śixat* | “... Let [men] present libations to Indra, and offerings to the *rishi*.”

R. V. x. 112, 9.—*Ni shu sīda gaṇapate gaṇeshu tvām āhur vipratamañ karīnām | na rite trat kriyate kiñchana āre mahām arkam Maghavanś chitram archa* | “Sit, lord of multitudes, among our multitudes; they call thee the greatest of sages [or poets]; nothing is done without, or apart from, thee; receive, Maghavan, our great and beautiful hymn.”

R. V. x. 115, 5.—*Agniḥ kanvatamah kanva-sakhā ityādi* | “Agni is the greatest of the Kanvas, the friend of Kanva,” etc.

II.—The Vedic rishis, as we have seen, expected to receive from their gods every variety of temporal blessings, strength, long life, offspring, riches, cattle, rain, food, and victory, and they also looked for forgiveness of their offences, and exaltation to paradise, to the same benefactors. Hence it would be nothing more than we might have anticipated, if we should further find them asking their different deities to enlighten their minds, to direct their ceremonies, to stimulate their devotion, to augment their powers of poetical expression, and to inspire them with religious fervour for the composition of their hymns. I think the following passages will justify this expectation by showing that the rishis (though, as we have seen, they frequently speak of the hymns as their own work) did also sometimes entertain the idea that their prayers, praises, and ceremonies generally, were supernaturally suggested and directed. One of the modes (if not the principal one) in which this idea is expressed is, as we shall discover, the personification of speech under different appellations. The following are the passages to which I refer: they are—

First, such as refer to the gods generally :

R. V. i. 37, 4.—*Pra vah śardhāya ghṛishwaye tvesha-dyumnāya śushmīṇe | brahma devattañ gāyata* | “To [that which is] your strength, the vigorous, overpowering, energetic, [host of

Maruts] sing the *god-given* prayer." (See, however, Part Second, p. 219, note 174.)

S. V. i. 299.—*Tvashtā no daivyaṃ vacaḥ Parjanya Brahmanaspatiḥ | putrair bhrātrībhīr Aditir nu pātu no duṣṭāram trāmaṇaṃ vacaḥ |* "May Tvastri, Parjanya, and Brahmanaspati [prosper] our *divine* utterance: may Aditi with her [?] sons and brothers prosper our invincible and protective utterance."

In the next passage, the hymn or prayer is spoken of as *inconceivable*.

R. V. i. 152, 5.—*Achittam brahma juṣushur yuvānaḥ pra Mitre dhāma Varuṇe grīṇantaḥ |* "The youths received with joy the incomprehensible prayer, celebrating the glorious abode in Mitra and Varuna [?]."

(Though Sāyana, in his comment on this passage, does not give to the word *yuvānaḥ* the sense of youths, he interprets it so, and explains it of the Maruts, in his note on R. V. i. 165, 2.)

In R. V. x. 20, 10, Vimada, a rishi, is connected with the immortals:—*Agnē Vimado manīshām ūrjonapād amṛitebhiḥ sajoṣhā girāḥ ācaxat sumatir iṇānaḥ ityādi |* "O Agni, son of strength, Vimada, united with the immortals, hastening, has brought to thee a product of thought, and beautiful hymns."

In the two following texts the gods are said to have *generated* the hymn or prayer:

R. V. viii. 88, 4.—*Sūkta-vākam prathamam ād id Agnīm ād id havir ājanayanta devāḥ | sa eṣhām yajño abhavat tanūpāḥ |* "The gods first *generated* the hymn, then Agni, then the oblation. This sacrifice was the protector of their life."

R. V. x. 61, 7.—... *Soādhyo ājanayan brahma devā Vāstoshpatiṃ vratapāṃ nirataxan |* "The thoughtful gods have *generated* prayer: they have fashioned Vastoshpati the protector of sacred rites."

(Who, however, are the "gods" here intended? The word *deva* is sometimes understood by Sāyana to denote the worshippers; and it may mean no more in these two passages. See Sāyana on R. V. iii. 34, 7, where he makes *derebhyah-derana-śītebhyah* stotribhyah.)

In the latter of the two following verses, *Vāch* (speech) is said to be divine, and to have been *generated* by the gods. Though Speech is here spoken of generally, and nothing is said of the hymns, still these seem to have come to be connected with her in the minds of the Vedic bards, and to be regarded as her most solemn and important expression.

R. V. viii. 89, 10.—*Yad rāg radantī arichetanāni rāshṭrī devānām nishasūda mandrā | chatasra ūrjām duduhe payāmsi keva srid asyāḥ paramam jagāma |* 11. *Derīm vācham ajanya- yanta devās tām rīścarūpāḥ paśavo radanti | sā no mandrā ishām ūrjām duhānā dhenur rāg asmān upa sushṭutā ā etu |*
 “When *Vāch*, speaking unintelligible things, queen of the gods, sat down, conferring delight, the four regions milked forth sustenance and waters: whither has her highest station departed? The gods *generated* the divine *Vāch*; animals of all kinds utter her: may this cow *Vāch* which brings us joy, and yields us nourishment and sustenance,—approach us, when we celebrate her praises.”

The last verse (as well as R. V. viii. 90, 16, which will be quoted below), derives some illustration from the following passage of the Brihad Āranyaka Upanishad, p. 982 (p. 251 English trans.), in which also *Vāch* is designated as a cow:—*Vācham dhenum upāsita | tasyāś chatvāraḥ stanāḥ svāhā-kāro rashat-kāro hanta-kāraḥ sradhā-kāraḥ | tasyā drau stanau derā upajī- canti svāhā-kāraṇcha rashat-kāraṇcha hanta-kāram manushyāḥ svadhā-kāram pītarāḥ | tasyāḥ prāṇa rīshabho mano ratsaḥ |*
 “Let a man worship the cow *Vāch*. She has four udders, the formulæ *svāhā*, *rashat*, *hanta*, and *sradhā*. The gods live upon her two udders, *svāhā* and *rashat*; men upon *hanta*; and the patriarchs upon *sradhā*. Breath is her bull; the mind, her calf.”

(The two verses, R. V. viii. 89, 10 and 11, occur in the Nirukta, xi. 28, 29. Roth (in his Illustrations), p. 152, says the unintelligible utterance of *Vāch* in verse 10, means thunder. Though this be the case, the word appears to have a more

general signification in the next verse, and to refer to speech in general, personified as a divine being. The speech which all the animals utter cannot of course be thunder.

In some of the preceding verses of this hymn there is a curious reference made to some sceptical doubts regarding the existence of Indra; which I quote here, though unconnected with the present subject. R. V. viii. 89, 3, 4.—*Pra su stomam bharata vājayantam Indrāya satyaṁ yadi satyam asti | na Indro asti iti nema u tva āha ka ūm dadarśa kam abhi starāma | Ayam asmi jaritaḥ paśya mā iha viśrā jātāni abhi asmi mahā | ritasya mā pradiśo vaddhayanti ādardiḥ bhrūvā dardarimī |* “Present to Indra a hymn soliciting food, a true [hymn] if he truly exists. ‘Indra does not exist,’ says some one : ‘who has seen him? whom shall we praise?’ ‘I am here, worshipper’ [answers Indra]; ‘behold me, I surpass all creatures in greatness; the different points of the sacrifice augment me; crushing, I destroy the worlds.’”)

Second: the next set of passages which I shall bring forward either refer to Sarasvatī, Vach, Dhishanā, etc. (various names of the goddess of speech, or different personifications of speech, or of prayer), or at least speak of prayer as *divine*.

R. V. i. 3, 11, 12.—*Chodayitrī sūnṛitānām chetantī sumatī-nām | yajñāṁ dudhe Sarasvatī | . . . dhiyo viścā virājati |* “Sarasvatī, who furthers the truthful [or our hymns], and who stimulates the wise [or our prayers], has sustained our sacrifice. . . . She enlightens all intellects.”

R. V. i. 22, 10.—*Ā gnāḥ Agne iha avase Hotrām yavishṭha Bhāratīm | Varūtrīm Dhishanām vaha |* “Bring here, youthful Agni, to our help, the wives [of the gods], Hotrā, Bhāratī, Varūtrī, and Dhishanā.”

(*Varūtrī*, “the eligible,” may be merely an epithet of Dhishanā which, according to Sāyana = *vāg-devi*, “the goddess of speech.”

R. V. i. 31, 11.—*Ilām akrinṇan manushasyu śāsanīm ityādi |* “The gods made Ilā to be the instructress of men.” (See Pro-

fessor Wilson's note on this passage, p. 82 of his translation of the R. V. vol i.)

R. V. i. 109, 1.— . . . *Na anyā yuvat pramatir asti mahyaṁ sa vāṁ dhiyaṁ vājoyantīm ataxam* | 2. . . . *Athā somasya prayatī yurabhyām Indrāgnī stomaṁ janayāmi naryam* | 4. *Yurābhyāṁ devī dhīshaṇā madāya Indrāgnī somam uśatī sunoti* | 1. "I have no other wisdom than [that which proceeds] from you (Indra and Agni), I who have *fabricated* for you a hymn supplicating food. 2. . . . I then, together with a libation of soma, *generate* for you, Indra and Agni, a new hymn. 4. The *divine hymn* [or *rite*], longing, pours forth the soma for your exhilaration."

(The wisdom to which the rishi refers at the beginning of this passage does not, however, necessarily, mean the power of composing hymns. In other clauses, this text contains the same words expressive of the *fabrication* and *generation* of the hymns by the rishi, which we have already met with in section 3, pp. 130-136).

R. V. ii. 3, 8.—*Sarasvatī sādhayanti dhiyaṁ naḥ Ilā devī Bhārati vīśratūrttiḥ* | *Tisro devīḥ sradhayā barhīr edam achklīdram pāntū śaraṇaṁ nishadya* | "May Sarasvatī, perfecting our hymn [or rite], may the divine Ilā, and the all-pervading Bhārati; may these three goddesses, seated on the place of sacrifice, prosper this faultless sacrifice with the oblation."

R. V. iii. 18, 3.— . . . *Yāvad īśe brahmaṇā vandamānaḥ imāṁ dhiyaṁ śata-ścyāya devīm* | "Worshipping thee with a prayer according to the best of my power, [I offer?] this *divine* prayer to obtain unbounded wealth."

R. V. iii. 32, 14.—*Vīrecsha yad mā dhīshaṇā jajāna ityādi* | "When the thought [or voice] *entered into* me, I gave it birth," etc. (If *dhīshaṇā* here mean "thought," it need not refer to anything supernatural.)

R. V. iv. 34, 1.—*Idā hi vo dhīshaṇā devī ahnām adhāt pītim ityādi* | "For on these days the *divine* voice has ordained that you should drink soma," etc.

R. V. iv. 43, 1, 2.—*Ka u śravat katamo yajñīyānām vandāru devaḥ katamo jushāte | kasya imām deṁ amṛiteshu preshṭhām hṛidi śreshyāma sushṭutīm suhaṇyām |* “Who will hear us? which of all the objects of adoration? which of all the gods will receive our praises? In the heart of whom among the immortals can we infix this our *divine* and dearest hymn, accompanied by excellent oblations?”

R. V. vii. 34, 1.—*Pra śukrā etu devī manīṣhā asmat sutasṭo ratho na rājī |* “May prayer, brilliant and *divine*, proceed from us, like a well-fabricated chariot drawn by steeds.”

R. V. vii. 34, 9.—*Abhi ro deṁ dhiyām dadidhram pra ro deccatrā rācham kṛinudhram |* “Receive towards you the *divine* hymn; proclaim the song for yourselves among the gods.”

R. V. vii. 90, 3.—. . . *Rāge devī dhishanā dhāti devam |* “The *divine* voice disposes [?] the god to bestow [?] wealth.” (This verse is translated by Professor Benfey in his Glossary to the Sāma-veda under the root *vid*, p. 170.)

R. V. vii. 96, 3.—*Bhadram id bhadrā kṛinarat Sarasvatī akavāri chetati vājīnīcatī | gṛinūnā Jamadagnivat sturānā cha Vasishṭharat |* “May the gracious Sarasvati bless us. The generous [goddess] rich in oblations, stimulates us, when praised after the manner of Jamadagni or lauded after the fashion of Vasishṭha.”

R. V. viii. 90, 16.—*Vachocidaṁ rācham udīrayantiṁ viśvā-bhir dlūbhīr upatishṭhamānām | deṁ decebhyaḥ pari cyushīm gām ā mā arṇikta marttyo dabhrachetāḥ |* “Let not any mortal of little intelligence do violence to the cow, the *divine* Vāch, who is skilled in praise, who utters her voice aloud, who associates with all the gods, and arrives with all the hymns.”

R. V. ix. 33, 5.—*Abhi brahmīr anūskata yakhīr ṛitasya mātaro marmṛijyante divaḥ śīsum |* “The great devotional [?] mothers of the sacrifice have uttered praise: they decorate the child of the sky.”

R. V. x. 35, 6.—. . . *Rāyo janitrīm dhishanām upa bruve |* “I address myself to Dhishanā, the generatrix of wealth.”

R. V. x. 71, 1 ff.—*Bṛihaspate prathamam vācho agraṃ yat prairata nāmadheyam dudhānāḥ | yad eśhām śreshtam yad aripram āsit prenā tad eśhām nihitam guhā āvīḥ | 2. Saktum iva titāunā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācham akrata | atrā sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadra eśhām laxmīr nihitā adhi vāchi | 3. Yajñena vāchaḥ padarīyam āyan tām anavindann ṛishishu prarishṭām | tām ābhṛitya vyadadhuh purutrā tām sapta rebhū abhi sammarante | 4. Uta traḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācham uta tvaḥ śṛiṇon na śṛiṇoti enām | uto tvasmai tanvaṃ risasre jāyeva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ | 5. Uta traṃ sakhye sthīra-pītum āhur nainam hinranti api vājīneshu | adhenvā charati māyayā eśha vācham śuśrurān aphaḷām apuskpām | 6. Yas tityāja sachividaṃ sakhāyaṃ na tasya vāchi api bhāgo asti | yad im śṛiṇoti alakaṃ śṛiṇoti na hi pravceda sukṛitasya panthām |*

1. "O Brihaspati, that first and principal name of speech (Vāch), that which possessing, they uttered aloud [?], that which was to them the most excellent and spotless, that which they had kept secret has, through love, [been made] manifest. 2. Wherever the wise,—cleansing, as it were, meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, their friends recognize [their] friendliness; an auspicious fortune [or sign] is impressed upon their speech. 3. Through sacrifice they followed the track of Vāch, and found her entered into the rishis: bearing her, they divided her into many portions: her the seven poets celebrate. 4. One man, seeing, sees not Vāch; hearing, he hears her not; to another she reveals her form, as an elegantly attired and loving wife displays her person to her husband. 5. They say that one man has a sure defence in [her] friendship; men cannot injure him even in battle; but that man consorts with an unprofitable delusion who has [only] heard speech [Vāch] which is [to him] without fruit or flower. 6. He who has abandoned his discerning friend, has no portion in Vāch; whatever he hears he hears in vain; he knows not the path of virtue."

(The second, fourth, and fifth verses of this obscure hymn are quoted in the Nirukta, iv. 10; i. 19, and 20; and are explained

in Professor Roth's Illustrations. Verses 2 and 4 are also quoted and interpreted in the *Mahābhāṣya*; see pp. 30 and 31 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition. The verse which is of most importance for my present purpose, is, however, the third, which speaks of Vāch having *entered into the rishis*. The idea of Vāch being divided into many portions will be found again below in R. V. x. 125, 3.)

R. V. x. 96, 10.— . . . *Mahī chid hi dhishanū aharyad ityādi* | “The great voice [or hymn] has desired thee.”

R. V. x. 110, 8 (= Vāj. S. 29, 33).—*Ā no yajñam Bhārati tūyam etu Ilā manushcad iha chetayanti | tisro devīr barhīr ā idam syonam Sarasvatī svapasuh sadantu* | “Let Bhārati come quickly here to our sacrifice, with Ilā, who instructs us like Manu [or like a man], and with Sarasvatī: let these three goddesses, skilful in rites, sit down upon this beautiful sacrificial grass.”

R. V. x. 125, 3.—*Aham rāshṭrī saṅgamanī vasūnām chikītuṣhī prathamā yajñīyānām | tām mā devā ryadadhuk purutrā bhūristhātrām bhūri āveśayanti* | 4. *Mayā so annam atti yo vipaśyati yaḥ prāṇiti ya im śṛinoti uktam | amantaṛo mām te upaśiyanti śrudhī śruta śraddhivām te vadāmi* | 5. *Aham eva seayam idam vadāmi juṣṭam devebhīr uta mānushcebhīḥ | yaṁ kāmaye taṁ tam ugraṁ kṛinomi tam brahmānam tam ṛishim taṁ sumedhām* | 3. “I am the queen, the centre of riches, intelligent, the first of the objects of adoration: the gods have separated me into many portions, have assigned me many abodes, and made me widely pervading. 4. He who has insight, who lives, who hears [my] sayings, eats through me [the sacred] food. Those men who are foolish destroy me, [or, those who disregard me, perish]. Listen, thou who art learned, I declare to thee what is worthy of belief. 5. I myself make known this which is agreeable both to gods and men. Him whom I love I make terrible, [I make] him a priest, [I make] him a *rishi*, [I make] him intelligent.” (This passage occurs also in the *Atharva-veda*, iv. 30, 2 ff., but with some

various readings, as *āveśayantaḥ* for *āveśayantīm*, and *śraddheyam* for *śraddhivam*, etc. The hymn is translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Ess. i. 32, or p. 16 of W. and N.'s ed.)

R. V. x. 176, 2.—*Pra decaṁ deryā dhiyā bharata Jātavedasam havyā no vaxad āmushak* | “By divine prayer produce Jātavedas: may he present our oblations in order.”

R. V. x. 177, 1.—*Patangam aklam asurasya māyayā hṛidā paśyanti manasā vipāśchitaḥ* | *samudre antuḥ karayo richazate marīchinām padam ichhanti vedhasaḥ* | 2. *Patango vācham manasā bibharti tām Gandharvo avadad garbhe antaḥ* | *tām dyotamānām śrāyaṁ manīṣhām ṛitasya pade karayo nipānti* | “Sages behold with the heart and mind the Bird enveloped by the wisdom of the Asura: the wise perceive him in the sky: the prudent seek after the abode of his rays. 2. The Bird cherishes speech with his mind: the Gandharva hath uttered her in the womb: the bards preserve in the place of sacred rites this shining and celestial intellect.” (See also R. V. x. 189, 3, *vāk pataṅgāya dhīyate*.)

Third: I shall now adduce the passages in which other Vedic deities, whether singly or in concert, are spoken of as concerned in the production of the hymns.

Aditi.—In R. V. viii. 12, 14, Aditi is mentioned as fulfilling this function: *Yad uta svarāje Aditih stomam Indrāya jījanat puru-praśastam ūtaye ityādi* | “When Aditi generated for the self-resplendent Indra a hymn abounding in praises, to supplicate succour,” etc.

Agni.—R. V. i. 18, 6, 7.—*Sadasaspatim abhutam priyam Indrasya kāmāyam* | *sanīm medhām ayāsisham* | *yasmād ṛite na siddhyati yajño vipāśchitaś chana* | *sa dhīnām yogam invati* | 6. “I have resorted, for wisdom, to Sadasaspati (Agni), the wonderful, the dear, the beloved of Indra, the beneficent; (7) without whom the sacrifice of the wise does not succeed: he promotes the course of our ceremonies.”

R. V. iv. 5, 3.—*Sāma dvibarkā mahi tigma-bhrishtiḥ sahasra-retā vṛishabhas turishmān* | *padaṁ na gor apagūlham vividrān*

Agnir mahyaṁ pra id u vohad mañishām | 6. *Idam me Agne kīyate pāvaka aminate gurum bhāraṁ na manma* | *Vṛihad dadhātha dhrishatā gabhiraṁ yakvam prishṭham prayasā sapta-dhātu* | “Agni occupying two positions, the fierce-flaming, the prolific, the showerer of benefits, the opulent, who knows the sacred hymn, mysterious as the track of a [missing cow], has declared to me the knowledge [of it]. 6. To me who am feeble, though innoxious, thou, o Agni, purifier, hast given, as a heavy load, this great, profound, and extensive hymn, of seven elements, with efficacious oblations.” (I find a difficulty, even with the help of Sāyana's Commentary, in translating the remaining word of this verse, *prishṭham*. See Part Second, p. 489.)

R. V. iv. 6, 1.—*Teaṁ hi viśram abhi asi manma pra vedhasaś chit tirasi mañishām* | “Thou presidest over all thoughts [or prayers]; thou promotest the praises of the sage.”

R. V. iv. 11, 3.—*Te ad Agne kāryā te ad mañishās te ad ukthā jāyante rādhyāni* | “From thee, Agni, proceed poetic thoughts; from thee the products of the mind; from thee effective hymns.”

R. V. x. 21, 5.—*Agnir jāto Atharvanā vidad viśvāni kāvyā* | “Agni, generated by Atharvan, is acquainted with all wisdom.”

R. V. x. 91, 8.—. . . *Medhākāraṁ vidathasya prasāadhanam Agnim ityādi* | “Agni, the giver of understanding, the accomplisher of sacrifice.”

R. V. x. 4, 5.—*Yad ro rayam pramināmo vratāni vidushām devā avidustarūsaḥ* | *Agnis tad viścam āprināti vidvān yebhīr devān ṛitubhiḥ kalpayāti* | *Yat pākatrū manasā dānadaxā na yajñasya manrate martyāsaḥ* | *Agnis tad hotā kratuvid vijānan yajishṭho devān ṛitūso yajāti* | “When, o [ye] gods, we, the most unwise among the wise, undertake sacred rites in your honour, the wise Agni completes them all, at the stated seasons which he assigns to the gods. When men, devoted to sacrifice, do not, from their ignorance, rightly comprehend the mode of worship, Agni, the skilful sacrificer, and most eminent of priests, knowing the ceremonial, worships the gods at the proper seasons.”

(As rites and hymns were closely united in the practice of the

early Indians, and are often expressed by the same words; if Agni was supposed to be the director of the one, viz., the oblations, he might easily come to be also regarded as aiding in the production of the other—the hymns. Verse 4, occurs also in the A. V. xix. 59, 1, 2, where, however, *āprīnātu* is read instead of *āprīṇāti*, and in place of the words *yebhīr devān*, etc., at the close of the verse, we have, *somaścha yo brāhmaṇān ā vireśa* | “and Soma, who entered into the priests.”)

Brahmaṇaspati.—R. V. i. 40, 5, 6.—*Pra nūnam Brahmaṇaspatir mantraṁ vadati ukthyaṁ | yasminn Indro Varuṇo Mitraḥ Aryamā devā okāṁsi chakrire | Tam id vochema vidatheshu sambhuvam mantraṁ devā anekasam ityādi* | “Brahmaṇaspati (abiding in the worshipper’s mouth, according to the scholiast) utters the hymn accompanied with praise, in which the gods, Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, have made their abode. Let us utter, gods, at sacrifices, that spotless hymn, conferring felicity.” (Roth in his Lexicon considers *okas* to mean “good pleasure,” “satisfaction.” See also his Essay on Brahmins and the Brahmans, Jour. of the Germ. Or. Soc. i. 74.)

Bṛihaspati.—R. V. ii. 23, 2.—*Usrāḥ ira sūryo jyotiṣhā maho viśreshām ij janitā brahmaṇām asi* | “As the glorious sun by his lustre generates rays, so art thou (Bṛihaspati) the generator of all prayers.”

Gandharva.—According to Professor Roth (see under the word in his Lexicon), the Gandharva is represented in the Veda as a deity who knows and reveals the secrets of heaven, and divine truths in general; in proof of which he quotes the following texts:—

R. V. x. 139, 5.—*Viśvāvasur abhi tad no grīnātu diryo Gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ | Yad rā ghā satyam uta yad na vidma dhiyo hinvāno dhiyaḥ id naḥ aryāḥ* | “May the celestial Gandharva Viśvāvasu, who is the measurer of the atmosphere, declare to us that which is true, or which we know not. May he receive and delight in our hymns, [or, stimulating our interests, may he prosper our hymns].”

A. V. ii. 1, 2.—*Pra tad roched amṛitasya vidrān Gandharro dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat* | “May the Gandharva, who knows the world of the immortals, declare to us that supreme and mysterious abode.”

Indra.—R. V. iii. 54, 17.—*Mahat tad raḥ karayaś chāru nāma yad ha derā bhavatha viśve Indre | sakhā Ribhubhīḥ puru- hūta priyebhīr imāṁ dhīyaṁ sātaye taxatā naḥ* | “Great, o sage [Aśvins], is that cherished name of yours, through which [or, that] ye all become gods with (in) Indra. Do thou, much invoked (Indra), our friend, with the beloved Ribhus, *fabricate* (or dispose) this hymn for our welfare.” (This may merely mean that Indra was asked to give a favourable issue to the prayer of the worshipper, not to *compose* his hymn for him. See Roth’s Lexicon, under the word *tax*, 3.)

R. V. vi. 26, 3.—*Tvaṁ karim chodayaḥ arkasātāv ityādi* | “Thou (Indra) didst stimulate the poet in the composition of his hymns,” etc. (Sāyana renders *arkasātau*, “for the sake of finding food.”)

R. V. vi. 18, 15.—*Kṛishrā kṛitno akṛitaṁ yat te asti ukthaṁ navīyo janayasra yajñaiḥ* | “Energetic (Indra), do what thou hast never yet done; *generate* a new song with the sacrifices.”

R. V. vi. 34, 1.—*Saṁ cha tre jagmur giraḥ Indra pūrvīr vi cha tad yanti ribhro manīshāḥ* | “Many hymns are congregated in thee, o Indra, and numerous products of the mind issue from thee.” (This verse has been already quoted in p. 124.)

R. V. vi. 47, 10.—*Indra mṛīla mahyaṁ jīrātum iccha chodāya dhīyam ayaso na dhārām | Yat kiñcha ahaṁ trāyur idaṁ vadāmi taj jushasva kṛidhi mā deravantam* | “O Indra, gladden me, decree life for me, *sharpen my intellect* like the edge of an iron instrument. Whatever I, longing for thee, now utter, do thou accept; give me divine protection.” (Compare with the word *chodaya* the use of the word *prachodayāt* in the Gāyatrī, R. V. iii. 62, 10, which will be given below.)

R. V. vii. 97, 3.—*Tam u namasā havirbhiḥ suśevam Brahmanaspatiṁ grīṇishe* | *Indraṁ śloko mahi dāmyaḥ sishaktu yo*

brahmano devakṛitusya rājā | 5. *Tum ā no arkam amṛitāya jush-tam ime dhāsura amṛitāsaḥ purājāḥ ityādi* | “3. I invoke with reverence and with offerings the beneficent Brahmanaspati. Let a great and divine song celebrate Indra, who is king of the prayer made by the devas. 5. May these ancient immortals make this our hymn acceptable to the immortal,” etc. (Are we to understand the word *deva* here of gods or priests?)

R. V. viii. 13, 7.—*Pratnaraj janaya girah sṛinudhi jaritur havam* | “As of old, generate hymns; hear the invocation of thy worshipper.”

R. V. x. 112, 9.—*Ni shu sīda gaṇapate gaṇeshu tvām āhur vīpratamaṁ karinām* | *na rite trat kriyate kīñchana āre mahām arkam Magharan chitram archa* | “Lord of assemblies, sit amid our multitudes; they call thee the wisest of poets. Nothing is done without, or apart from thee; Maghavan, receive with favour our great and beautiful hymn.” (Already quoted in p. 148.)

Indra and Vishnu.—R. V. vi. 69, 2.—*Yā vīsrāsāṁ janitārā matinām Indrā-Vishṇu kalāśā soma-dhānū* | *Pra rām girah śasyamānāḥ acantu pra stomāso gīyamānāsaḥ arkaiḥ* | “Indra and Vishnu, ye who are the generators of all hymns, who are the vessels into which soma is poured, may the praises which are now recited gratify you, and the songs which are chaunted with encomiums.”

Indra and Varuna.—The following passage is not, properly speaking, a portion of the Rig-veda, as it is part of one of the Vāḷakhilyas or apocryphal additions (described in Part Second, p. 210), which are found inserted between the 48th and 49th hymns of the 8th Mandala. From its style, however, it appears to be nearly as old as some parts of the R. V.

Indrāvarunā yad ṛishibhyo manīshāṁ vācho matiṁ śrutam adattam agre | *yāni sthānāny asṛijanta dhīrā yajñāṁ tuncvānās tapasā bhyapaśyam* | “Indra and Varuna, I have seen through devotion that which ye formerly gave to the rishis, wisdom, understanding of speech, sacred lore, and all the places which the sages created, when performing sacrifice.” (See Part Second, p. 220.)

Pūshan.—R. V. x. 26, 4.—*Maṁsīmahi tvā vayam asmūkām deva Pūshan matināñcha sādhanam viprāññcha ādharam* | “We adore thee, divine Pushan, the accomplisher of our hymns, and the stimulator of sages.”

Savitṛi.—R. V. iii. 62 (= S. V. ii. 812, and Vāj. S. iii. 35).—*Tat Savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi | dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayāt* | “We meditate that excellent glory of the divine Savitṛi; may he stimulate our understandings [or hymns, or rites].”

(This is the celebrated Gāyatrī, the most sacred of all the texts in the Veda. See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. pp. 29, 30, 127, and 175; or pp. 14, 15, 78, and 109 of W. and N.'s ed. Benfey (S. V. p. 277) translates the Gāyatrī thus: “May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works.”

The Linga Purana (Part II. sec. 48, 5 fl., Bombay lithographed ed.) gives the following “varieties” of the Gāyatrī, adapted to modern Śaiva worship: *Gāyatrī-bhedāḥ* || *Tatpurushāya vidmahe rāg-viśuddhāya dhīmahi | Tan naḥ Śivaḥ prachodayāt* || *Gaṇāmbikāya vidmahe karmasiddhyai cha dhīmahi | Tan no Gaurī prachodayāt* || *Tatpurushāya vidmahe Mahādevāya dhīmahi | Tan no Rudraḥ prachodayāt* || *Tatpurushāya vidmahe Vaktratundāya dhīmahi | Tan no Dantiḥ prachodayāt* || *Mahāsenāya vidmahe rāg-viśuddhāya dhīmahi | Tan naḥ Skandaḥ prachodayāt* || *Tiṣṇaśṛiṅgāya vidmahe Vedapādāya dhīmahi | Tan no Vṛiṣaḥ prachodayād ityādi* | “(1) We contemplate That Purusha, we meditate him who is pure in word [or purified by the word]; may That Śiva stimulate us. (2) We contemplate Gaṇāmbikā, and we meditate Karmasiddhi (the accomplishment of works); may That Gaurī stimulate us. (3) We contemplate That Purusha, and we meditate Mahādeva; may That Rudra stimulate us. (4) We contemplate That Purusha, and we meditate Vaktratunda (Ganeśa); may That Danti (the elephant) stimulate us. (5) We contemplate Mahāsenā (Kārtikeya), and we meditate him who is pure in word; may That

Skanda stimulate us. (6) We contemplate Tixnasringa (the sharp-horned), and we meditate the Veda-footed; may Vrishā (the bull) stimulate us."

Soma.—R. V. vi. 47, 3.—*Ayam me pītaḥ udiyartti vācham ayam manīshām uśatim ajigaḥ* | "This [soma], when drunk, stimulates my speech [or hymn]; this called forth the ardent thought."

It may be said that this and the other following texts relating to soma, should not be quoted as proofs that any idea of divine inspiration was entertained by the ancient Indian bards, as they can mean nothing more than that the rishis were sensible of a stimulating effect on their thoughts and powers of expression, produced by the exhilarating draughts of the juice of that plant in which they indulged. But the rishis had come to regard Soma as a god, and apparently to be passionately devoted to his worship. See Part Second, pp. 470 ff., and especially pp. 474, 475.

A. V. viii. 48, 3.—*Apāma somam amṛitā abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma dcrān* | *kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛṇavad arātīḥ kim u dhūrttir amṛita martyasya* | "We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods; what can an enemy now do to us? what can the malice of any mortal effect, o immortal god?"

(This passage is quoted in the commentary of Gaudapāda on the Sāṅkhya Kārikā, verse 2, and is translated (incorrectly as regards the last clause), by Prof. Wilson, in p. 13 of his English version.)

A curious parallel to this last Vedic text is to be found in the satirical drama of Euripides, the Cyclops, 578 ff.; though here, of course, the object is merely to depict the drunken elevation of the monster Polyphemus:

‘Ο δ’ οὐρανός μοι συμμεμυγμένος δοκεῖ
Τῇ γῇ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ Διὸς τε τὸν θρόνον
Λεύσσω τὸ πᾶν τε δαιμόνων ἄγνυν σέβας.

"The sky, commingled with the earth, appears
To whirl around; I see the throne of Jove,
And all the awful glory of the gods."

R. V. ix. 25, 5.—*Arusho janayan girah somah parate āyushag Indraṁ gachchan kavikratuh* | “The ruddy Soma, sage, united with men, purifies us, *generating hymns*, resorting to Indra.”

R. V. ix. 76, 4.—... *Pitā matīnām asamashta-kāryah* | “[Soma] father of our hymns, of incomparable wisdom.”

R. V. ix. 95, 2.—*Harīḥ sṛjānah pathyām ṛitasya iyartti vācham ariteva nāvam* | *devo devānām guhyāni nāma āriṣhkrīṇoti barhishi pravāche* | “The golden [Soma] when poured out, sends forth the hymn, [or, his voice], the companion of the ceremony, as a rower propels a boat. A god, he reveals the mysterious names of the gods to the bard upon the sacred grass.” (See R. V. ii. 42, 1, and x. 116, 9, quoted in p. 137).

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (= S. V. ii. 293-5).—*Somah parate janitā matīnām janitā divo janitā pṛithirya janitā Agner janitā sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Vishnoḥ* | 6. *Brahmā devānām padarīḥ kavīnām ṛishir riprānām malisho mṛigānām śyeno grīdhrānām svadhītir vanānām somah pavitram ati eti rebhan* | 7. *Prāvīpād vāchah ūrmiṁ na sindhur girah somah paramāno manishāḥ ityādi* | “Soma purifies us, he who is the *generator* of hymns, of the sky, of the earth, of fire, of the sun, of Indra, and of Vishnu. 6. Soma, who is Brahman among the gods, a leader among the poets, a rishi among sages, a buffalo among wild beasts, a falcon among vultures, an axe amid the forests, advances to the filter with a sound. The purifying soma, like the sea rolling its waves, has poured forth songs, hymns, and thoughts,” etc. (See Benfey’s translation of this passage in his *Sāma-veda*, pp. 238 and 253.)

Varuna.—R. V. viii. 41, 5, 6.—*Yo dhartā bhuvanānām ya usrānām apīchyā veda nāmāni guhyā* | *sa kariḥ kāryā puru rūpam dyaur iva pushyati* . . . | *Yasmin viśvāni kāryā chakre nābhīr iva śritā ityādi* | “He who is the upholder of the worlds (Varuna), who knows the secret and mysterious names of the cows, he, a sage [or poet], cherishes sage [or poetical] works, as the sky does many forms. . . . In him all sage [or poetical]

works abide, as the nave within a wheel," etc. (See R. V. vii. 87, 4, in p. 144, and ix. 95, 2, above, p. 163.)

Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman.—R. V. vii. 66, 11.—*Vi ye dadhuḥ śaradam māsam ād ahar yajñam aktuṁ cha ād ṛicham anāpyam Varuṇo Mitraḥ Aryamā xatraṁ rājānaḥ āśata* | "The kings, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, who made the autumn, the month, the day, the sacrifice, night, and the *Rik*, possess an invincible power."

The following passage of the Rig veda has (as we have seen above, p. 51, note 37; and p. 58), been quoted by Indian commentators and aphorists to prove the eternity of the Veda, on its own authority :

R. V. viii. 64, 6.—*Tasmai nūnam abhidyure vāchā Virūpa nityayā vṛishṇo chodasra sushtutim* | "Send forth praises, Virūpa, to this heaven-aspiring and prolific Agni, *with perpetual voice.*"

There is, however, no reason whatever to suppose that the words *nityayā vāchā* mean anything more than *perpetual voice*. There is no ground for imagining that the rishi entertained any such conception as became current among the systematic theologians of later times, that his words were eternal. The word *nitya* is used in the same sense "*perpetual*" in R. V. ix. 12, 7 (= S. V. ii. 55, 2), where it is said of Soma, *nityastotro vanaspatir dhīnām antar ityādi* | "The monarch of the woods, *continually-praised*, among the hymns," etc., as well as in the two following texts :

R. V. ix. 92, 3.—*Somaḥ punānaḥ sadah eti nityam ityādi* | "The pure Soma comes to his *perpetual* abode [or to his abode *continually*]," etc.

R. V. x. 39, 14 (quoted above, p. 132).—*Nityāṁ na sūnuṁ tanayaṁ dadhānāḥ* | "Continuing the series like an *unbroken* line of descendants."

The tenor of the numerous texts adduced in this Section seems

clearly to establish the fact that some at least of the ancient Indian rishis conceived themselves to be prompted and directed, in the composition of their hymns and prayers, by supernatural aid, derived from various deities of their pantheon. It may add force to the proof derived from these texts, and show that I am the less likely to have misunderstood their purport and spirit, if I adduce some evidence that a similar conception was not unknown in another region of the ancient Indo-Germanic world, and that the expressions in which the early Grecian bards laid claim to an inspiration descending from the Muses, or from Apollo, were not mere figures of speech, but significant, originally, of a living belief. Most of the following passages, from Hesiod and Homer, in which this idea is enunciated, are referred to in Mr. Grote's History of Greece, i. 478.

Hesiod, Theogonia, 22 :—

“Αἰ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν αἰοιδῆν
 Ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο.
 Τόνδε δέ με πρῶτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπαν,
 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
 Ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, καὶ ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες διον,
 Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
 Ἴδμεν δ', εἴτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι.
 Ὡς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτίπειαι·
 Καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον, δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον,
 Δρέψασαι θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
 Θείην, ὥς κλείομι τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρὶ τ' ἐόντα,
 Καί με κέλονθ' ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ὄντων,
 Σφᾶς τ' αὐτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστερον αἰὲν αἰδεῖν.

“Hesiod erst was instructed in beautiful song by the Muses,
 Once as he tended his lambs under glorious Helicon's summit.
 Me then the goddesses first, the Olympian Muses, accosted :
 This was the word which those daughters of Jupiter spake in my hearing .
 ‘Ye who abide in the fields, ye contemptible, gluttonous shepherds,
 Full many tales we can tell which are feigned, though they seem to be real ;
 But we are skilled, when we please, to relate the reality also.’
 Thus, very fluent in speech, mighty Jupiter's daughters addressed me.
 Straightway then plucking a branch of luxuriant laurel, the Muses
 Gave it to me for a staff, and inspired me with speech *superhuman*,
 Fitting me thus to make known both the future and also the bygone.
 Next they enjoined me to hymn the immortals, unchangeably blessed,
 Chiefly, however, to sing their own praises, beginning and ending.”

Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 94 :—

Ἐκ γὰρ Μουσᾶων καὶ ἐκηθόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
Ἄνδρες ἄοιδοι ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,
Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες.

“Minstrels who come to this earth, as well as all tuneless musicians,
Spring from the heavenly Muses, and from the far-darting Apollo :
Kings are from Jupiter sprung.”

The following are the words in which the author of the *Iliad* invokes the aid of the Muses, to qualify him for enumerating the generals of the Grecian host (*Iliad*, ii. 484) :—

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ολύμπια δωμάτων ἔχουσαι,
Τμείς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα,
Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος διὸν ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.

“Tell to me now, O ye Muses, who dwell in Olympian mansions,
Ye who are goddesses, present, and knowing all things which befall men,
Things of which we may hear rumours, but never get accurate knowledge—
Tell to me who were commanders and chiefs of the Grecian army.”

But the Muses could also take away, as well as impart, the gift of song, as appears from *Iliad*, ii. 594 ff.

Ἐνθα τε Μοῦσαι
Ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Ὀρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς·
Στεῦτο γὰρ ἐνχόμενος νικησέμεν, ἔπειρ ἂν αὐταὶ
Μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν, κούραι Διὸς ἀγιόχοιο.
Αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
Θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο, καὶ ἐκκέλαθον κιθαριστὴν.

“That was the spot where the Muses
Thracian Thamyris met, when they stopped his career as a minstrel.
Boastfully he had affirmed that, if even the heavenly Muses,
Daughters of Jove, should compete, he would bear off the laurels for singing.
Hotly indignant, they smote him with blindness, and took away from him
Minstrelsy, science divine, and his skill in melodious music.”

The following passages from the *Odyssey* refer to Demodocus, the bard who sang at the court of Alcinous, King of the Phæacians (*Odyssey*, viii. 43 ff.) :—

Καλέσασθε δε θεῖον ἀοιδόν,
Δημόδοκον· τῷ γὰρ ῥα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν ἀοιδίην,
Τέρπειν, σπῆρ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν.

“And summon Demodocus hither,
Minstrel divine, whom the god hath endowed with most exquisite science,
Charming, whenever his spirit impels him to sing for our pleasure.”

Odyssey, viii. 62 ff.—

Κῆρυξ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν ἄγων ἐριήρον ἀοιδόν
Τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε,
'Οφθαλμῶν μὲν ἔμερσε δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

“Afterward nigh came the herald, conducting the loveable minstrel.
Him the Muse tenderly loved, but she dealt him good mingled with evil;
Eyesight she took from him, while she *assigned him sweet song* in requital.”

Odyssey, viii. 73—

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν κ.τ.λ.

“Next the Muse *stirred up* the bard to resound the achievements of heroes.”

A little further on, Ulysses says of Demodocus (Odyssey, viii. 479 ff.):—

Πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὸν
Τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς. θυνεκ' ἄρα σφέας
'Οἶμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν.

“All men who dwell upon earth stand in awe of, and honour, their minstrels,
Since the Muse *teaches them lays*, and looks on the tribe with affection.”

And again he addresses him thus (Odyssey, viii. 487):—

Δημόδοκ', ἔξοχα δὴ σε βροτῶν ἀνίζομ' ἀπάντων.
'Η σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Διὸς πάϊς, ἥ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων.
Λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν διτον αἰεῖεις, κ.τ.λ.

“Happy I deem thee, Demodocus, far above all other mortals.
Either the Muse, Jove's daughter, *hath taught thee*, or Phœbus Apollo;
Such the exactness with which thou relatest the fate of the Argives.”³

Phemius, the Ithacan minstrel, thus supplicates Ulysses to spare his life (Odyssey, xxii. 345 ff.):—

'Αυτῷ τοι μετόπισθ' ἄχος ἔσσεται, ἔικεν ἀοιδόν
Πέφνης, ὅς τε θεῶσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν αἰείδω.
'Αυτοδιδάκτος δ' εἰμι, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν ὕμιας
Παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν.

“Afterward, thou thyself shalt lament if thou slayest the minstrel,—
Me, who sing praise to the gods, and delight mankind with my legends.
Self-instructed am I, but a *god hath implanted* within me
All kinds of narrative lore.”

³ “That is,” says Mr. Grote, “Demodocus has either been inspired as a poet by the muse, or as a prophet by Apollo, for the Homeric Apollo is not the god of song. Kalchas, the prophet, receives his inspiration from Apollo, who confers upon him the same knowledge, both of past and future, as the Muses give to Hesiod.” But does not this passage itself (Odyssey viii. 488) show that the Homeric Apollo was the god of song, as well as the bestower of prophetic intuition? and do we not learn the same from Iliad, i. 603? In any case, it is quite clear from Theog. 94, quoted above, that Hesiod regarded Apollo in this character.

The early Greeks believed that the gift of prophecy also, as well as that of song, was imparted by the gods to mortals. This appears from the following passage of Homer (*Iliad*, i. 69) :—

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, διωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,
 Ὃς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα,
 Καὶ νήεσσ' ἠγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον ἔισω,
 Ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν δι πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

“Calchas, the great son of Thestor, all other diviners excelling,
 Skilled in the present, foreseeing the future, and knowing the bygone ;
 Guide of the Grecian gallies from Hellas to Ilion's roadstead,
 Thanks to that power of divining which *Phæbus Apollo* imparted.”

It is well argued by Mr. Grote that the early Greeks really believed in the inspiration of their bards by the Muses (*History of Greece*, i. 477 ff.) :—

“His [the early Greek's] faith is ready, literal and uninquiring, apart from all thought of discriminating fact from fiction, or of detecting hidden and symbolized meaning : it is enough that what he hears be intrinsically plausible and seductive, and that there be no special cause to provoke doubt. And if indeed there were, the poet overrules such doubts by the holy and all-sufficient authority of the Muse, whose omniscience is the warrant for his recital, as her inspiration is the cause of his success. The state of mind, and the relation of speaker to hearers, thus depicted, stand clearly marked in the terms and tenor of the ancient epic, if we only put a plain meaning upon what we read. The poet—like the prophet, whom he so much resembles—sings under heavenly guidance, inspired by the goddess to whom he has prayed for her assisting impulse. She puts the word into his mouth and the incidents into his mind ; he is a privileged man, chosen as her organ, and speaking from her revelations. As the Muse grants the gift of song to whom she will, so she sometimes in her anger snatches it away, and the most consummate human genius is then left silent and helpless. It is true that these expressions, of the Muse inspiring,

and the poet singing, a tale of past times, have passed from the ancient epic to compositions produced under very different circumstances, and have now degenerated into unmeaning forms of speech ; but they gained currency originally in their genuine and literal acceptance. If poets had from the beginning written or recited, the predicate of singing would never have been ascribed to them ; nor would it ever have become customary to employ the name of the Muse as a die to be stamped on licensed fiction, unless the practice had begun when her agency was invoked and hailed in perfect good faith. Belief, the fruit of deliberate inquiry, and a rational scrutiny of evidence, is in such an age unknown ; the simple faith of the time slides in unconsciously, when the imagination and feeling are exalted ; and inspired authority is at once understood, easily admitted, and implicitly confided in."

If we extend our researches over the pages of Homer, we shall speedily discover numerous other instances of divine interference in human affairs, not merely (1) in the *general* government of the world, in the distribution of good and evil, and the allotment of the diversified gifts, intellectual, moral, and physical, which constitute the innumerable varieties of human condition, but also (2) in the way of *special* suggestion, guidance, encouragement, and protection, afforded to individuals.

Illustrations of the general control exercised by the gods over the fortunes of mankind may be found in the following passages of the Iliad, xiii. 730 ff., and of the Odyssey, i. 347 f. ; iv. 236 f. ; vi. 188 f. ; viii. 167-175 ; xvii. 218, 485 ff.

The following are illustrations of the *special* interference of the gods in behalf of their favourites :—Iliad, i. 194 ff., 218 ; iii. 380 ff. ; v. 1 ff. ; vii. 272 ; xiii. 60 f., 435 ; xvi. 788 ff. :—Odyssey, i. 319 ff. ; iii. 26 ff. ; xiv. 216 f., 227 ; xvi. 159 ff.⁴ Of the latter class of passages, I quote two specimens.

⁴ Compare Prof. Blackie's dissertation on the theology of Homer in the "Classical Museum," vol. vii. pp. 414 ff.

Odyssey, i. 319 ff.—

Ἡ μὲν ἔρ' ὥς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
 Ὀργῆς δ' ὥς ἀνοπῶια διέπτατο· τῷ δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 Θῆκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, ὑπέμνησέν τέ ἐ πατρός
 Μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν· ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ᾗσι νοήσας
 Θάμβησεν κατὰ θυμόν, δίσσατο γὰρ θεὸν ἔιναι.

“Thus having spoken, the goddess, the keen-eyed Athene departed,
 Flying aloft like a bird, unobserved : but to him she *implanted*
Courage and strength in his soul, and reminded him then of his father
 Far more strongly than ever : he then, perceiving the marvel,
 Wondered exceedingly, thinking a god must have been his adviser.

When Telemachus urges his youth and inexperience as a reason for diffidence in approaching Nestor, Minerva says to him (Odyssey iii. 26) :—

Τηλέμαχ', ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσεις,
 Ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἶω
 Οὐ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε.

“Some things thou thyself shalt perceive in thine own understanding ;
 Others, again, some *god will suggest* to thy spirit, for never
 Hast thou been born, or bred up, except by celestial permission.”

These passages, however, afford only one exemplification of the idea which runs through, and in fact, created, the entire mythology of the Greeks, viz., that all the departments of life and of nature were animated, controlled, and governed by particular deities, by whom they were represented, and in whom they were personified.

The Indian mythology,—as is evident to every reader of the Vedas, as well as (to some extent) to the student of the Puranas,—is distinguished by the same tendency as the Grecian. Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Varuna, Sūrya, and many other gods are nothing else than personifications of the elements, while Vāch or Sarasvatī and some other deities, represent either the divine reason by which the more gifted men were supposed to be inspired, or some mental function, or ceremonial abstraction.

In the later religious history, however, of the two races, the Hellenic and the Indian, there is in one respect a remarkable divergence. Though the priestesses of the different oracles,

and perhaps some other pretenders to prophetic intuition, were popularly regarded as speaking by a divine impulse,⁵ the idea of inspiration as attaching to poems or other compositions of a religious, didactic, or philosophical character, very soon became extinct. The Greeks had no sacred Scriptures. Their philosophers spoke and wrote in dependence on their own reason alone. They never professed to be guided by any supernatural assistance, nor claimed any divine authority for their dogmas. Nor was any such character of infallibility ever claimed for any of them by their successors.

In India, on the other hand, the indistinct, and perhaps hesitating, belief which some of the ancient rishis seem to have entertained in their own inspiration was not suffered to die out in the minds of later generations. On the contrary this belief grew up by degrees into a fixed persuasion that all the literary productions of those early sages had not only resulted from a supernatural impulse, but were infallible, divine, and even eternal. These works have become the sacred Scriptures of India. And in the popular opinion, if not in the estimation of the learned, most Indian works of any importance, of a religious, scientific, or philosophical kind, which were produced at a later period, have come to be regarded as inspired, as soon as the lapse of ages had removed the writers beyond familiar or traditional knowledge, and invested their names with a halo of reverence.

To return from this digression to the inquiry which was being pursued regarding the opinions of the ancient Vedic rishis on the subject of their own inspiration :

How, it will be asked, are we to reconcile this impression which the rishis manifest of being prompted by supernatural aid, with the circumstance, which seems to be no less distinctly proved by the citations made in the preceding section (pp. 128, 136), that they frequently speak of themselves as having *made*, *fabricated*, or *generated* the hymns, without apparently betray-

⁵ See Nagelsbach's *Nachhomerische Theologie*, pp. 173 ff.

ing any consciousness that in this process they were inspired or guided by any extraneous assistance?

I am not in a position to attempt any very precise explanation of this discrepancy. I will only suggest (1) that possibly the idea of inspiration may not have been held by the earliest rishis, but may have grown up among their successors; or (2) that it may have been entertained by some rishis, and not by others; or again (3), if both ideas can be traced to the same author (as is possibly the case in R. V. i. 109, 1, 4), we may suppose that the one notion was uppermost in his mind at one moment, and the other at another; or (4) that he had no very clearly defined ideas of inspiration, and might conceive that the divine assistance of which he was conscious, or which at least he implored, did not render his hymn the less truly the production of his own mind; that, in short, the superhuman and human elements were not incompatible with one another.

The first of these suppositions is, however, attended with this difficulty, that both conceptions, viz., that of independent unassisted composition, and that of inspiration, appear to be discoverable in all parts of the Rig-veda. As regards the second supposition, it might not be easy (in the uncertainty attaching to the Vedic tradition contained in the Anukramani or Vedic index) to show that such and such hymns were written by such and such rishis, rather than by any others. It may, however, become possible by continued and careful comparison of the Vedic hymns, to arrive at some probable conclusions in regard to their authorship, so far at least as to determine that particular hymns should probably be assigned to particular eras, or families, rather than to others. I must, however, leave such investigations to be worked out, and the results applied to the present subject, by more competent scholars than myself.

III.—While in many passages of the Veda, an efficacy is ascribed to the hymns, which is perhaps nothing greater than natural religion teaches all men to attribute to their devotions, in other texts a mystical, magical, or supernatural power is

represented as residing in the prayers and metres. (See Weber's *Vajasaneyi-Sanhita* specimen, p. 61.)

Thus in R. V. i. 67, 3, it is said: *Ajo na xām dādhāra pṛithivīm tastambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ* | “(Agni) who like the unborn, supported the broad earth, and upheld the sky by true prayers.” The following is part of Sāyana's annotation on this verse: *Mantrair divo dhāraṇām Taittirīye samāmnā-tam* | “*devā vā ādityasya svarga-lokasya parācho 'tipātād abibhayuḥ* | *taṁ chhandobhir adṛiḥan dhṛityā*” *iti* | *yadvā satyair mantrair stūyamāno 'gnir dyām tastambha iti* | “The supporting of the sky by mantras is thus recorded in the Taittirīya: ‘The gods feared lest the sun and the heaven should fall down; they propped them up by metres.’ Or the verse may mean that Agni, being lauded by true mantras, upheld the sky.”

R. V. i. 164, 25.—*Jagatā sindhum divi astabhāyad rathantare sūryam pari apaśyat* | *gāyatrasya samidhas tisra āhus tato mahnā pra ririche mahatvā* | “By the Jagatī metre he fixed the waters in the sky; he beheld the sun in the Rathantara (a portion of the Sāma-veda): there are said to be three divisions of the Gāyatrī; hence it surpasses [all others] in power and grandeur.”

R. V. iii. 53, 12.—*Viśvāmitrasya raxati brahma idam Bhāra-tam janam* | “The prayer of Viśvāmitra protects this tribe of the Bharatas.”

R. V. v. 31, 4.—*Brahmāna Indram mahayanto arkair avar-dhayan Ahaye hantavai u* | “The priests magnifying Indra by their praises, have fortified him for slaying Agni.”

R. V. v. 40, 6.—... *Gūḷham sūryam tamasā apavratena turīyena brahmaṇā avindad Atriḥ* | v. 8. . . . *Atriḥ sūryasya divi chaxur ādhāt svarbhānor apa māyā aghuxat* | v. 9. *Yam vai sūryam svarbhānus tamasā avidhyad āsurah* | *Atrayas tam anvavindan na hi anye aśaknuvan* | “Atri, by his fourth prayer, discovered the sun which had been concealed by an unholy darkness. 8. . . . Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and hid the delusions of Svarbhānu. 9. The Atris discovered

the sun, which Svarbhānu, of the Asura race, had pierced; no other could [effect this].”

R. V. vi. 75, 19.—*Devās tuñ sarve dhūrvantu brahma varma mamāntaram* | “May all the gods destroy him; the prayer is my protecting armour.”

R. V. vii. 19, 11.—*Nu Indra śūra stavamānaḥ ūti brahma-jūtas tanoḥ vapriḍhasva ityādi* | “Heroic Indra, lauded with devotion, and impelled by our prayers, grow in body,” etc.

R. V. vii. 33, 3.—*Even nu kañ dāsarājñe Sudāsam prāvad Indro brahmaṇā vo Vasishṭhāḥ* | 5. . . *Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indraḥ āśrod uruṁ Tritsubhyaḥ akṛiṇod u lokam* | “Indra has delivered Sūdas in the combat of the ten kings through your prayer, Vasishtha. 5. Indra heard Vasishtha when he praised, and opened a wide place for the Tritsus.”

R. V. viii. 15, 7 (= S. V. ii. 995).—*Tava tyad indriyam brihat tva śushmam uta kratuṁ rajaṁ śisāti dhishaṇā varcnyam* | “The hymn sharpens thy great strength, thy vigour, thy force, [and thy] glorious thunderbolt.”

(This verse is translated by Benfey, S. V. p. 286, who, in a note, thus describes the doctrine of the hymns: “Prayer sharpens the thunderbolt, and consequently Indra’s might; for the power, etc., of all the gods is derived from the sacrifices and prayers of men.”)

R. V. viii. 49, 9.—*Pāhi naḥ Agne cḥayā pāhi uta devīyayā pāhi gīrbhis tisṛibhir ūrjāmpate pāhi chatasṛibhir vaso* | “Protect us, Agni, through the first, protect us through the second, protect us, lord of power, through three hymns, protect us through four, thou gracious one.”

The following passage celebrates the numbers of the metres :

R. V. x. 114, 8, 9.—*Sahasradhā pañchadaśāni ukthā yāvad dyāvā-prithivī tāvad it tat* | *Sahasradhā mahimānaḥ sahasrañ yāvad brahma tāvatī vāk* | *kaś chhandasām yogam āveda dhīraḥ ko dhishnyām prati vācham papāda* | *kam ṛitriyām aṣṭamam śūram āhur harī Indrasya ni chikāya kaḥ svit* | “There are a thousand times fifteen *ukthas*; that extends [they extend?] as

far as heaven and earth. A thousand times a thousand are the glorifications; speech is commensurate with devotion. What sage knows the [whole] series [or application] of the metres? Who has obtained all the forms of devotional speech? Whom do they call the eighth hero among priests? Who has perceived the two steeds of Indra?"

(The word *dhishnya* is said by Yāska, Nirukta, viii. 3, to be = to *dhishanya*, and that again to be = to *dhishanābhava*, "springing" from *dhishanā*, "speech," or "sacred speech."

I conclude the series of texts relating to the power of the mantras by quoting the whole of the 130th hymn of the 10th Mandala of the R. V.: *Yo yajño vīscatas tantubhis tataḥ ekaśataṁ devakarmebhīr āyataḥ | ime rayanti pitaro ye āyayuh pruvāya apa vaya āsate tate | 2. Pumān enam tanute utkrinatti pumān vi tatne adhi nāke asmin | ime mayūkhā upa shedur ū sadaḥ sāmāni chakrus tasarāni otave | 3. Kū āsīt pramā pratimā kim nidānam ājyam kim āsīt paridhiḥ ka āsīt | chhandah kim āsīt prāugaṁ kim uktham yad devā devam ayajanta vīśve | 4. Agner gāyatrī abhavat sayugrā ushṇihayā Savitā sambabhūva | anusṭubhā Somaḥ ukthair mahasvān Bṛhaspater bṛihatī vācham āvat | 5. Virāṇ Mitrāvaruṇayor abhiśrīr Indrasya trishtub iha bhāgaḥ ahaḥ | Vīśvān devān jagatī āvīśa tena chākṛipre ṛishayo manushyāḥ | 6. Chākṛipre tena ṛishayo manushyū yajñe jāte pitarah naḥ purāṇe | paśyan manye manasā charasā tūn ye imaṁ yajñam ayajante pūrve | 7. Sahastomāḥ sahachhandasaḥ āvritah sahapramāḥ ṛishayah sapta daivyaḥ | pūrveshām panthām anudrīśya dhīrā anvālebhire rathyo na raśmīn |* "The [web of] sacrifice which is stretched on every side with threads, which is extended with one hundred [threads], the work of the gods,—these fathers who have arrived weave it; they sit where it is extended, [saying?] 'weave forwards, weave backwards.' The Man stretches it out and spins it, the Man has extended it over this sky. These rays [rishis?] approached the place of sacrifice; they made the Sāma verses the shuttles for the woof. What was the order [of the ceremonial], what the dispo-

sition, what the service, what the offering, what the enclosure, what the metre, what the preliminary chaunt, and what the hymn, when all the gods sacrificed to the god [or, offered up the god as a victim]? The *gāyatrī* was produced as the [metre] attendant upon Agni; Savitri appeared with the *ushnīḥ*; and Soma, glorious through hymns (*ukthas*), with the *anushtubh*; the *bṛihatī* preferred the voice of Bṛhaspati. The *virāt* attached itself to Mitra and Varuna; the *trishṭubh*, assigned to [?] the day, [accompanied] Indra. The *jagatī* entered into the Visvedevas. By this means men were made rishis, [or rishis and men were formed]. By this means our mortal fathers were made rishis, when this ancient sacrifice was celebrated. Beholding, I know [or I believe I behold] with my mind, [as] an eye, those ancients who performed this sacrifice. The seven divine rishis, with hymns, with metres, [with] ritual forms, and with the prescribed arrangements, steadily contemplating the path of the ancients, have, like charioteers, followed after the rays."

(I shall not attempt to explain the meaning and purport of all the parts of this mystical hymn. The precise signification of some of the terms relating to the ceremonial of sacrifice in verse 3, is not supplied in any work to which I have access. In the rendering of those to which I refer, Mr. Colebrooke, who has translated the passage (Essays, i. 34, 35, or p. 18 of W. and N.'s ed.) differs from M. Langlois. My object in quoting the hymn is to show how the various metres are associated with the different deities, in this primeval and mysterious rite, and how a certain sanctity of character is thus imparted to them. The *Atharva-veda* (x. 7, 43, 44) gives the second verse somewhat differently from the R. V., as follows: *Pumān enad vayati udgrīnatti pumān enad vi jabhāra adhi nāke | ime mayūkḥā upa tastabhur divaṁ sāmāni chakrus tasaraṇi vātave |* "The Man weaves and spins this: the Man has spread this over the sky. These rays have propped up the sky; they have made the Sāma verses shuttles for the woof.")

IV.—But whatever may have been the nature or the source of the supernal illumination to which the rishis laid claim, it is quite clear that some among them at least made no pretensions to anything like a perfect knowledge of all subjects, human and divine, as they occasionally confess their ignorance of matters in which they felt a deep interest and curiosity. This is shown in the following texts :

R. V. i. 164, 5.—*Pākaḥ prichchhāmi manusā avijānan devānām enā nihitā padāni | ratse bashkaye adhi sapta tantūn vi tatnīre karayaḥ otarai ū | 6. Achikitrān chikitasāś chid atra kavīn prichchhāmi vidmane na vidrān | vi yas tastambha shaḥ imā rajāṁsi ajasya rūpe kim api svid ekam | 37. Na vi jānāmi yad iṁ idam asmi ninyāḥ sannaddho manusā charāmi | yudā mā āgan prathamajāḥ ṛitasya ād id cāchaḥ āsnure bhāgam asyāḥ |* “Immature, not knowing in my mind, I enquire; these [are] the hidden or treasured truths [or abodes] of the gods; the sages have stretched out seven threads for a woof over the yearling calf [or over the sun, the abode of all things]. Not comprehending, I ask those sages who comprehend this matter; unknowing, [I ask] that I may know; what is the one thing, in the form of the uncreated, who has upheld these six worlds? 37. I do not recognize if I am like this; I go on perplexed and bound in mind. When the first-born sons of sacrifice [or truth] come to me, then I enjoy a share of that word.”

(I do not attempt to explain the proper sense of these obscure and mystical verses. It is sufficient for my purpose that they clearly express ignorance on the part of the speaker. Prof. Wilson's translation of the passages may be compared. Prof. Müller, *Anc. Ind. Lit.*, p. 567, renders verse 37 as follows:—“I know not what this is that I am like; turned inward I walk, chained in my mind. When the first-born of time comes near me, then I obtain the portion of this speech.”)

R. V. x. 88, 18.—*Kati agnayaḥ kati sūryāsaḥ kati ushasaḥ kati u svid āpaḥ | na upaspijāṁ vaḥ pitaro vadāmi prichchhāmi*

vaḥ kavayo vidmane kam | “How many fires are there? how many suns? how many dawns? how many waters? I do not, fathers, say this to you in jest; I really ask you, sages, in order that I may know.”

R. V. x. 129, 5.—*Tiraśchīno vitato raśmir eshām adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt* | *retodhā āsan mahimāna āsan svadhā arastat prayatiḥ parastāt* | 6. *Kaḥ addhā veda kaḥ iha pravochat kutah ājātā kutah iyaṁ viṣṛiṣṭiḥ* | *arvāg devā asya visarjanena athā ko veda yataḥ ābabhūva* | 7. *Iyaṁ viṣṛiṣṭir yataḥ ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na* | *yaḥ asya adhyaxaḥ parameryoman sa anga veda yadi vā na veda* | “Their ray, obliquely extended, was it below, or was it above? There were generative sources, and there were great powers, *svadhā* (nature) below; and effort above. *Who knows, who hath here declared* whence this creation was produced, whence [it came]? The gods were subsequent to the creation of this universe; *who then knows* whence it sprang? Whence this creation sprang, whether it was formed or not,—He who, in the highest heavens, is the overseer of this universe,—he indeed knows, or he does not know.”

(The last verse may also be rendered, “He from whom this creation sprang,—whether he made it or not,—he who is the overseer of this universe, he knows, or he does not know.” See the translation of the whole hymn by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essays*, i. 33, 34, or p. 17 of W. and N.’s ed. See also Prof. Müller’s translation and comment in pp. 559-564 of his *History of Anc. Sanskrit Lit.*)

We have seen (above, p. 45) that a claim is set up (by some unknown writer quoted by Śāyana) on behalf of the Veda that it can impart an understanding of all things, past and future, subtle, proximate, and remote; and that according to Sankara Āchāryya (on the *Brahma sutras*, i. 1, 3) as cited above, p. 52, note, the knowledge which it manifests, approaches to omniscience. All such proud pretensions are, however, plainly enough disavowed by the rishis who uttered the complaints of ignorance

which I have just adduced. It is indeed urged by Sāyana (see above, pp. 45, 46) in answer to the objection, that passages like R. V. x. 129, 5, 6, can possess no authority as sources of knowledge, since they express doubt,—that this is not their object, but that it rather is to intimate by a figure of speech the extreme profundity of the Divine essence, and the great difficulty which any persons not well versed in the sacred writings must experience in comprehending it. There can, however, be little doubt that the authors of the passages I have cited did feel their own ignorance and intended to give utterance to this feeling. As, however, such confessions of ignorance on the part of the rishis, if admitted, would have been incompatible with the doctrine that the Veda was an infallible source of divine knowledge, it became necessary for the later theologians who held that doctrine to deny, or explain away, the plain sense of those expressions.

It should be noticed that these confessions of ignorance and fallibility are by no means inconsistent with the supposition that the rishis may have conceived themselves to be animated and directed in the composition of their hymns by a divine impulse. Though the two rivals, Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra, to enhance their own importance, and recommend themselves to their royal patrons, talk proudly about the wide range of their knowledge (see above, pp. 142-144), it is not necessary to imagine that, either in their idea or in that of the other ancient Indian sages (any more than in that of the Grecian bards), inspiration and infallibility were convertible or co-extensive terms. Both the Greek minstrel and the Indian rishi may have believed that they received, indeed, such supernatural aid as enabled them to perform what they must otherwise have left unattempted, but which after all resulted in only a partial illumination, and left them still liable to mistake and doubt.

I must also remark that this belief in their own inspiration which I imagine the rishis to have held, falls very far short of the conceptions which later writers, whether Naiyāyika, Mīmāṃsaka, or Vedantist, entertain in regard to the supernatural origin

and authority of the Veda. The gods from whom the rishis supposed that they derived their illumination, at least Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma, Pūshan, etc., would all fall under the category of *productions*, or divinities created *in time*. This is clearly shown by the comments of Śāṅkara on the Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 28 (above, pp. 69, 70). But if these gods were themselves *created*, and even (as we are told in the Rig-veda itself, x. 129, 6, cited in p. 178) produced *subsequently* to some other parts of the *creation*, the hymns with which they inspired the rishis, could not have been *eternal*. The only one of the deities referred to in the Rig-veda as sources of illumination, to whom this remark would perhaps not apply, is Vāch or Sarasvatī, who is identified with the supreme Brahma in the passage of the Vrihad Aranyaka Upanishad quoted above (p. 108, note 53); though this idea probably originated subsequently to the era of the hymns. But it is not to *created* gods, like Agni, Indra, and others of the same class, that the origin of the Veda is referred by the Naiyāyikas, Mīmāṃsakas, or Vedantists. The Naiyāyikas represent the *eternal* Īśvara as the author of the Veda; at least, this is the opinion of Udayana Achāryya, the writer of the Kusumāñjali (in the passages which I shall quote in the Appendix in a note on p. 81). And the Mīmāṃsakas and Vedantists, as we have seen (pp. 52-73, and note 39, pp. 51, 52), either affirm that the Veda is uncreated, or derive it from the eternal Brahma. Their view, consequently (unless we admit an exception in reference to Vāch), differs from that of the Vedic rishis themselves, who do not seem to have had any idea, either of their hymns being *uncreated*, or of their being derived from the eternal Brahma.

As regards the relation of the rishis to deities like Indra, it is also deserving of notice that later mythologists represent the former, not only as quite independent of the latter, and as gifted with an inherent capacity of raising themselves by their own austerities to the enjoyment of various superhuman faculties, but even as possessing the power of rivalling the gods them-

selves, and taking possession of their thrones. See the stories of Nahusha and Viśvāmitra in the First Part of this work, particularly pp. 68, 103, and 108. Compare also the passages from the Rīg-veda, x. 154, 2, and x. 167, 1, quoted above, p. 146, where the rishis are said to have attained to heaven, and Indra to have conquered it, by devotion (*tapas*).

SECT. V.—*Texts from the Upanishads, showing the opinions of the authors regarding their own inspiration, or that of their predecessors.*

I shall now adduce some passages from the different Upanishads, to show what opinions their authors entertained either in regard to their own inspiration, or that of the earlier sages, from whom they assert that their doctrine was derived by tradition.

I. Śvetāśvatara Up. v. 2 (already quoted above, p. 96).—*Yo yoniṁ yonim adhitishṭhaty eko viśvāni rūpāni yonīścha sarvāḥ ṛishim prasūtaṁ Kapilaṁ yas tam agre jñānair bibharti jāyamaṇaṁcha paśyēt* | “He who alone presides over every place of production, over all forms, and all sources of birth, who formerly nourished with various knowledge that rishi Kapila, who had been born, and beheld him at his birth.”

II. Śvetāśvatara Up. vi. 21.—*Tapah-prabhāvād veda-prasādāchcha Brahma ha Śvetāśvataro 'tha vidvān | atyāśramibhyaḥ paramam pavitram procācha samyag ṛishi-saṅgha-jusṭam* | “By the power of austerity, and by the grace of the Veda, the wise Svetāśvatara declared perfectly to the men in the highest of the four orders, the supreme and holy Brahma, who is sought after by the company of rishis.” (Dr. Rōer's translation, p. 68, follows the commentator in rendering the first words of the verse thus: “By the power of his austerity, and the grace of God.” This, however, is not the literal meaning of the words *veda-prasādāchcha*, a reading the correctness of which is not denied.)

III. Mundaka Up. i. 1 ff. (quoted above, p. 18, more at

length).—*Brahmā devānām prathamah sambabhūva viśvasya karttā bhuvanasya goptā | Sa brahma-vidyām sarva-vidyā-pratishṭhām Atharvāya j्येश्ṭha-putrāya prāha |* “Brahma was born the first of the gods, he who is the maker of the universe and the supporter of the world. He declared the science of Brahma, the foundation of all the sciences, to Atharva, his eldest son.”

IV. Chhandogya Up. p. 625 ff.—*Tad ha etad Brahmā Prajāpataye uvācha Prajāpatir Manave Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ | āchāryya-kulād vedaṁ adhītya yathā vidhānaṁ guroḥ karmātishheṇa abhīsamāvṛitya kuṭumbe śuchau deśe svādhyāyam adhyāno dhārmikān vidadhād ātmani sarvendriyāṇi sampratishṭhāpya ahimsān sarva-bhūtāni anyatra tirthebhyaḥ sa khalv evaṁ varttayan yāvadāyusham Brahma-lokam abhīsampadyate na cha punar āvarttate na cha punar āvarttate |* “This [doctrine] Brahmā declared to Prajāpati, Prajāpati declared it to Manu, and Manu to his descendants. Having received instruction in the Veda from the family of his religious teacher in the prescribed manner, and in the time which remains after performing his duty to his preceptor; and when he has ceased from this, continuing his religious studies at home, in his family, in a pure spot, communicating a knowledge of duty [to young men], withdrawing all his senses into himself, doing injury to no living creature, away from holy places [?], thus passing all his days, a man attains to the world of Brahma, and does not return again, and does not return again, [*i.e.*, is not subjected to any future births].”

I quote the commencement of Śankara's comment on this passage: *Tad ha etad ātma-jñānaṁ sopakaranam om ity etad āxaram ityādyaḥ saha upāsanaḥ tadvāchakena granthena aṣṭādhyāya-lakṣaṇena saha Brahmā Hiranyagarbhaḥ Paramēśvaro vā tadvārcṇa Prajāpataye Kāśyapāya uvācha | asāv api Manave svaputrāya | Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ | ityevam śruty-arthasampradāya-paramparayā āgatam upanishad-vijñānam adyāpi vidvatsv avagamyate |* “This knowledge of soul, with its instruments, with the sacred monosyllable *om* and other formulæ of

devotion, and with the book distinguished as containing eight chapters, which sets forth all these topics, [viz., the Chhândogya Upanishad itself] was declared by Brahmā Hiranyagarbha, or by Parameśvara (the supreme God), through his agency, to the Prajāpati Kaśyapa. The latter in his turn declared it to his son Manu, and Manu to his descendants. In this manner the sacred knowledge contained in the Upanishads, having been received through successive transmission of the sense of the Veda from generation to generation, is to this day understood among learned men."

APPENDIX.

NOTE I. on Page 19, Line 2.

I ADDUCE here some further passages from Indian authors in addition to those already cited in pp. 17-19, which depreciate the ceremonial, or exoteric parts of the Vedas, in comparison with the esoteric knowledge of Brahma.

I. My attention has been drawn to the following passage of the Bhagavad Gītā, ii. 42 fl., by its quotation in an (as yet) unpublished work on Hindu Philosophy by the Rev. Professor K. M. Banerjea, of Calcutta: *Yām imām pushpitām vācham pravādanty avipaśchitāḥ | veda-vāda-ratāḥ pārtha nānyad astīti vādināḥ | kāmātmānāḥ svarga-parāḥ janma-karma-phala-prudām | kṛiyā-viścsha-bahulām bhogaiśvarya-gatim prati | bhogaiśvarya-prasaktānām tayā 'pahṛita-chetasām | vyacasāyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhīyate | traigunya-vishayā vedā nīstraigunyo bhavārjuna | . . . yārān artha udapāne sarvataḥ samplutodake | tāvān sarreshu vedeshu brāhmaṇasya vijānataḥ |* "A flowery doctrine (promising future births and the reward of works, prescribing numerous ceremonies, with a view to future gratification and glory) is preached by unlearned men, devoted to the injunctions of the Veda, assertors of its exclusive importance, sensual in disposition, and seekers after paradise. The restless minds of the men who, through this [flowery doctrine], have become bereft of wisdom, and are ardent in the pursuit of future enjoyment and glory, are not applied to contemplation. The Vedas have for their objects the three qualities (*sattva*,

rajas, tamas, or 'goodness,' 'passion,' and 'darkness'); but be thou, Arjuna, free from these three qualities. . . . As great as is the use of a well which is surrounded on every side by overflowing waters, so great [and no greater?] is the use of the Vedas to a Brahman endowed with true knowledge."

II. Chhândogya Up. p. 473 (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 12).—*Adhikī bhagara iti ha upasasāda Sanatkumāraṁ Nāradaḥ | taṁ ha uvācha yad vtttha tena mā upasīda tatas te ūrddhvaṁ vaxyāmi iti | sa ha uvācha ṛigvedam bhagavo 'dhyemī yajurvedaṁ sāma-vedaṁ ātharvāṇaṁ chaturtham itihāsa-purāṇam pañchamaṁ vedānāṁ vedam pitryaṁ rāśiṁ daivaṁ nidhiṁ vākorākyaṁ ekāyanaṁ deva-vidyāṁ brahma-vidyāṁ bhūta-vidyāṁ xatra-vidyāṁ naxatra-vidyāṁ sarpa-deva-jana-vidyāṁ etad bhagavo 'dhyemī | so 'ham bhagavo mantra-vid evāsmi na ātma-vid | śrutaṁ hy eva me bhagavadḍṛṣebhyas 'tarati śokam ātma-vid' iti so 'ham bhagavaḥ śochāmi tam mā bhagarān śokasya pāraṁ tārayatv iti | taṁ ha uvācha yad vai kiṁcha etad adhyagīṣṭhā nāma evaitat | nāma vā ṛigvedo yajur-vedaḥ sāmaveda ātharvāṇaś chaturtha itihāsa-purāṇaḥ pañchamo vedānāṁ vedāḥ pitryo rāśir daivo nidhir vākorākyaṁ ekāyanaṁ deva-vidyā brahma-vidyā bhūta-vidyā xatra-vidyā naxatra-vidyā sarpa-deva-jana-vidyā nāma evaitad nāma upāsva iti | sa yo nāma brahma ity upāste yāvad nāmno gataṁ tatra asya yathā kāmachāro bhavati yo nāma brahma ity upāste | asti bhagavo nāmno bhūya iti | nāmno vāva bhūyo 'sti iti | tan me bhagavān bravītva iti |*

"Nārada approached Sanatkumāra, saying, 'Instruct me, venerable sage.' He received for answer, 'Approach me with [*i.e.*, tell me] that which thou knowest; and I will declare to thee whatever more is to be learnt.' Nārada replied, 'I am instructed, venerable sage, in the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Ātharvana, [which is] the fourth, the Itihāsas and Puranas, [which are] the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the pitris, arithmetic, the knowledge of portents, and of great periods, the art of reasoning, ethics, interpretation, the knowledge of Scripture, demonology, the science of war, the

knowledge of the stars, the sciences of serpents and deities ; this is what I have studied. I, venerable man, *know only the hymns (mantras)*; while I am ignorant of soul. But I have heard from reverend sages like yourself that “the man who is acquainted with soul overpasses grief.” Now I, venerable man, am afflicted ; but do thou conduct me across my grief.’ Sanatkumāra answered, ‘That which thou hast studied is nothing but *name*. The Rig-veda is *name* ; and so are the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Ātharvana, the fourth, and the Itihāsas and Puranas, the fifth Veda of the Vedas, etc. [all the other branches of knowledge are here enumerated just as above],—all these are but name : worship the name. He who worships a name with the persuasion that it is Brahma, holds as it were a dominion at his will over all which that name comprehends ;—such is the prerogative of him who worships name with the persuasion that it is Brahma.’ ‘Is there anything, venerable man,’ asked Nārada, ‘which is more than name?’ ‘There is,’ he replied, ‘something more than name?’ ‘Tell it to me,’ rejoined Nārada.”

(Śankara interprets the words *pañchamāṁ vedānāṁ vedam* differently from what I have done. He separates the words *vedānāṁ vedam* from *pañchamam* and makes them to mean *the means of knowing the Vedas, i.e., grammar*. See above, p. 107.)

III. Bṛihadāranyaka Up. iv. 3, 22 (p. 792 ff., p. 228-9 of Dr. Røer's English).—*Atra pitā apitā bhavati mātā amātā lokā alokā devā addevā vedā aredāḥ | atra steno 'steno bhavati bhrūṇa-hā abhrūṇa-hā chāṇḍālo 'chāṇḍālāḥ paulkaso 'paulkasaḥ śramano 'śramanaś tāpaso 'tāpaso nanvāgatam punyena ananvāgatam pāpena tīrṇo hi tadā sarvān śokān hṛidayasya bhavati |* “In that [condition of transcendental knowledge] a father is no father, a mother is no mother, the worlds are no worlds, the gods are no gods, and the Vedas are no Vedas. In that condition a thief is no thief, a murderer of embryos is no murderer of embryos, a Chāṇḍāla no Chāṇḍāla, a Paulkasa no Paulkasa, a Śramana no Śramana, a devotee no devotee ; the saint has

then no relation either to merit or sin ; for he then crosses over all griefs of the heart."

(I quote Śankara's explanation of the unusual words *nancā-gata* and *anancā-gata* : *Nancā-gatam na anrāgatam anancā-gatam asambaddham ity etat punyena śāstra-rikhena karmaṇā tathā pāpēna rikhitākuraṇa-pratishiddha-kriyā-laxaṇena* | "*Nanrāgata, i.e., na (not) anrāgata, or anancā-gata, i.e., asambaddha. This condition is unconnected either with merit, i.e., action enjoined by the śāstra, or with sin, i.e., action distinguished as the neglect of what is enjoined, or the doing of what is forbidden.*")

IV. To the same effect the great sage Nārada is made to speak in the Bhāgavata Pur. iv. 29, 42 ff. : *Prajāpati-patiḥ sārād bhagarān Girīśo Manuḥ | Darādayaḥ prajādhyaxā naishtikāḥ Sanakādayaḥ | Marīchir Atryaṅgirasau Pulastyah Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Bhṛiguḥ Vasishtha ity ete mad-antā brahma-rūḍināḥ | adyāpi vāchaspatayas tapo-rūḍyā-samūdhībhiḥ | paśyanto 'py na paśyanti paśyantam Paramēśvaram | śabda-brahmaṇi duṣhpāre charanta ururistare | mantra-lingair iyarach-chhinnam bhajanto na viduḥ param | yadā yasyānugrihṇāti bhagarān ātma-bhāvitāḥ | sa jahāti matiṁ loke rede cha parinisthitām | tasmāt karmasu varhishmann ajñānād artha-kūśishu | mā 'rtha-dṛiṣhtiṁ kṛithāḥ śrotra-sparśishv aśprishṭa-vastushu | sva-lokaṁ na vidus te vai yatra dero Janārdanaḥ | āhur dhūmra-dhiyo vedaṁ sakarmakam atad-viduḥ | āstīrya darbhair praḡ-agrair kārtsnyena xiti-maṇḍalam | stabdho vṛihad-radhād mānī karma nāvaiṣi yat param | tat karma Hari-toshaṁ yat sāvidyā tan-matir yayā* | "Brahmā himself, the divine Girīśa (Śiva), Manu, Daxa and the other Prajāpatīs, Sanaka and other devotees, Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Bhṛigu, Vasishtha—all these assertors of Brahma (as the sole essence), and masters of speech, including myself (Nārada) as the last, though seeing, are yet, to this day, unable, by austerity, by science, by contemplation, to see Paramēśvara (the supreme God), who sees all things. Wandering in the vast field of the verbal Divinity (the Veda), which is difficult to traverse, men do

not recognise the supreme, while they worship him as he is circumscribed by the attributes specified in the hymns (mantras). When the Divine Being regards any man with favour, that man, sunk in the contemplation of soul, abandons all thoughts which are set upon the world and the Veda. Cease, therefore, Varhishmat, through ignorance, to look upon works which merely *seem* to promote the chief good, as if they truly effected that object, (works) which only touch the ear, but do not touch the reality. The misty-minded men, who, ignorant of the Veda, declare that works are its object, do not know [his ?] own world, where the divine Janārdana abides. Thou who, obstinate man that thou art, strewest the whole earth with sacrificial grass, with its ends turned to the east, and art proud of thy numerous immolations, thou knowest not what is the highest work of all. That by which Hari (Vishnu) is pleased, is work ; that by which the thoughts are fixed on him, is science."

I copy the comment on a part of this passage, viz., on verses 45 and 46 : *Śabida-brahmaṇi rede urur ristāro yasya arthato 'py pāra-sūnyc tasmin varttamānā mantrāṇām lingair rajra-hastatrādi-guṇa-yukta-iridha-deratā-bhūdhāna-sāmarthyaiḥ purichchinnam era Indrādi-rūpam tat-tat-karmāgrahena bhujantah param Parameśvaraṁ na viduḥ || Tarhy anyah ko nāma | karmādy-āgrahaṁ hutrā parameśvaram era bhajed ity ata ūha 'yadū yam anuṣiṅhātī' | anugrahe hutuh | ātmam bhāritah san sa tadā loke loka-ryarahāre rede cha karma-mārge pariniskthitām matiṁ tyajati |* "Men, conversant with the verbal Divinity, the Veda, of which the extent is vast, and which, as regards its meaning also, is shoreless, worshipping Parameśvara [the supreme God] under the form of Indra, etc., and circumscribed by the marks specified in the hymns, i.e., circumscribed by various particular energies denominated deities, who are characterised by such attributes as 'wielder of the thunderbolt,' etc. ; worshipping Him, I say, thus, with an addiction to particular rites, men do not know the supreme God. What other [god], then, [is there] ? He therefore says, in the words, 'When he

regards any one with favour,' etc., let a man, abandoning all addiction to works, etc., worship the supreme God alone. The reason for this favour [is supplied in the following words]: 'Sunk in the contemplation of soul, he then relinquishes his regard directed to the business of the world and to the Veda, *i.e.*, to the method of works.'"

NOTE II. on Page 22, Line 14.

Mahidhara on the Vajasaneyi Sanhitā (Weber's ed. p. 1) says, in regard to the division of the Vedas: *Tatrādaṁ Brahma-param-parayā prāptaṁ Vedaṁ Vedaryāso manda-matīn manushyān rīchintya tat-kṛipayā chaturdhā vjasya Rīg-yajuh-sāmātharvā-klyām's chaturō vedān Paila-Vaiśampāyana-Jaimini-Sumantu-bhyuh kramād upadīdeśa te cha sva-śiṣhyebhyaḥ | Eram param-parayā sahasra-śākho Vedo jātaḥ |* "Vedavyasa, having regard to men of dull understanding, in kindness to them, divided into four parts the Veda which had been originally handed down by tradition from Brahmanā, and taught the four Vedas, called Rik, Sāman, Yajush, and Atharvan, in order, to Paila, Vaisampāyana, Jaimini, and Sumantu; and they again to their disciples. In this way, by tradition, the Veda of a thousand śāklās was produced."

NOTE III. on Page 65, 4th Line from the bottom.

The following extract from the account of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā philosophy, given in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha of Mādhava Achāryya (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 127 ff.), contains a fuller summary of the controversy between the Mīmāṃsakas and the Naiyāyikas respecting the grounds on which the authority of the Veda should be regarded as resting, than is supplied in any of the passages which I have quoted in the body of the work. As I have not studied the works of Śābara, Kumārila, Prabhākara, or the other commentators on the Mīmāṃsā aphorisms, I am unable to say how far this ingenious and interesting

summary is borrowed from those authors. It is probably taken from them in great part, but the special references made, in the course of the discussion, to Udayana Acharyya, Vāgīśvara, and the author of the Nyāya-bhūṣaṇa, and the answers made to their objections, rather favour the supposition that the arguments urged by the author of the summary are in part original.

Syād etat | vedasya katham apaurusheyatvam abhidhīyate | tat-pratipādaka-pramāṇābhāvāt katham manyethāḥ apaurusheyā vedāḥ | sampradāyāvichchhede saty asmaryyamāṇa-kartṛikatvād ātma-vad iti | tad etad mandaṁ viśeṣaṇāsiddheḥ | paurusheya-veda-vādidbhiḥ pralaye sampradāya-richchhedasya kaṣṭhikarānāt | kiñcha kim idam asmaryyamāṇa-kartṛikatevaṁ nāma | apratiya-māṇa-kartṛikatvam asmarāṇa-gochara-kartṛikatevaṁ vā | na prathamah kalpah Paramēśvarasya karttuḥ pramīter abhyupagamāt | na dvītiyo vikalpāsahatrāt | tathā hi | kim ekena asmarāṇam abhipreyate sarvair vā | na ādyaḥ | 'yo dharma-śīlo jīta-māna-roṣaḥ' ityādīṣhu muktakotīṣhu vyabhichārāt | na dvītiyaḥ | sarvāsmaraṇasya asarvajña-durjñānatvāt |

Paurusheyatve pramāṇa-sambharāchcha veda-vākyāni pauru-sheyāni | vākyatvāt | Kālidāsādi-vākya-vat | veda-vākyāni āpta-praṇītāni | pramāṇatve sati vākyatvād Manu-ādi-vākya-vad iti |

Nanu | 'Vedasyādhyayanaṁ sarvaṁ gurv-adhyayana-pūrvakam | vedādhyayana-sāmānyād adhunā 'dhyayanaṁ yathā' | ity anumānam prati sādhanam pragalbhate iti chet | tad api na pramāṇa-koṭim praveshtum iṣṭe | 'Bhāratādhyayanaṁ sarvaṁ gurv-adhyayana-pūrvakam | Bhāratādhyayanaatvena sāmpratā-dhyayanaṁ yathā' iti ābhāsa-samāna-yoga-xematvāt | nanu tatra Vyāsaḥ karttā iti smaryyate 'ko hy anyāḥ Puṇḍarikāxād Mahābhārata-kṛd bhavet' ity ādāv iti chet | tad asāram | 'ṛichāḥ sāmāni jajñire | chhandāṁsi jajñire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata' iti puruṣa-sūkte vedasya sakartṛikatā-pratipādanāt |

Kiñcha anityaḥ śabdaḥ sāmānyavatve sati asmad-adi-vākyen-driya-grāhyatvād ghaṭa-vat | nanv idam anumānaṁ sa evāyaṁ ga-kāra ity pratyabhijñā-pramāṇa-pratihatam iti chet | tad ati

*phalgu 'lāna-punarjātu-keśa-dalita-kund'-ādāo iva pratyabhi-
jñāyā sāmānya-vishayatecna bādhakatvābhavāt |*

*Nanr aśarīrasya Paramēśvarasya tālo-ādi-sthānābhāvena var-
nochchāraṇāsambhavāt kathaṁ tat-praṇītatvaṁ vedasya syād
iti chet | na tad bhadrāṁ srabhūrato 'sarīrasyāpi tasya bhaktā-
nugrahārthaṁ lilā-vigraha-grahaṇa-sambharāt | tasmād vedasya
apaurusheyatva-vācho yuktir na yuktā iti chet |*

*Tatra samādhānam abhidhiyate | Kim idam paurusheyatvaṁ
sisādhayishitam | purushād utpannatva-mātram | yathā asmad-
ādibhir ahar ahar uchchāryyamāṇasya vedasya | pramāṇānta-
rena artham upalabhya tat-prakāśanāya rachitatvaṁ vā | yathā
asmad-ādibhir eva nibadhyamānasya prabandhasya | pruthame
na ripratipattiḥ | churame kim anumāna-balāt tat-sādhnam
āgama-balād vā | na ādyaḥ | Mālātī-mādhavādi-rākyeshu sacya-
bhichāratrāt | atha pramāṇatve suti iti viśishyate iti chet | tad
api na vipaśchito manasi caśādyam āpadyate | pramāṇāntarā-
gocharārtha-pratipādukāṁ hi rākyāṁ Veda-rākyam | tat pra-
māṇāntara-gocharārtha-pratipādukam iti sādhyamāne 'nāma
mātā bandhyā' iti vad vyūghātāpātāt | kiñcha Paramēśvarasya
lilā-vigraha-parigrahābhypagame 'py atīndriyārtha-daśanaṁ
na sañjāghatīti deśa-kāla-srabhāra-riprakṛishṭārtha-grahaṇopā-
yābhavāt | na cha tachchāsur-ādikam eva tādṛik-pratīti-janana-
xamam iti mantaryam | dṛishṭānusūreṇaiva kalpanāyā āśrayāṇi-
yatrāt | tad uktaṁ Gurbhik sarvajña-nirākaraṇa-vclāyām 'ya-
trāpy atisayo dṛishṭaḥ sa svārthānatilāṅghanāt | dūra-sūxmādi-
dṛishṭau syād na rūpe śrotra-vṛittitā' iti | atu eva na āgama-
balāt tat-sādhnam |*

*'Tena proktam' iti Pāṇiny-anuśāsane jāgraty api kāthuka-
kālāpa-taittirīyam ityādi-samākhyā adhyayana-sampradāya-pra-
varttaka-vishayatecna upapadyate | tad-vad utrāpi sampradāya-
pravarttaka-vishayatenāpy upapadyate | na cha anumāna-
balāt śabdasya anityatva-siddhiḥ | pratyabhiññā-virodhāt | na
cha aśaty apy ekatve sāmānya-nibandhanam tad iti sāmpratam |
sāmānya-nibandhanatvam asya balavad-bādhakopanipātād āsthi-
yate krachid vyabhichāra-darśanād vā | tatra krachid vyabhi-*

chāra-darśane tad-utprexāyām uktaṁ scataḥ-prāmānya-cādibhiḥ |
'utprexeta hi yo mohād ajñātam api bādhanam | sa sarva-ryava-
hāreshu saṁśayaṭmā vinasīyati' iti |

Nann idam pratyabhijñānaṁ gatrādi-jāti-cishayaṁ na gādi-
vyakti-vishayaṁ tāsāṁ prati-purusham bhedopalambhād | anya-
thā 'Somaśarmā 'dhīte' iti vibhāgo na syād iti chet | tad api
śobhāṁ na bibhartti gādi-ryakti-bhede pramāṇābhārcna gatrādi-
jāti cishaya-kalpanāyām pramāṇābhavarāt | Yathā gatram ajānata
ekam eva bhinna-deśa-parimāṇa-saṁsthāna-ryakty-upadhāna-
vaśād bhinna-deśam eva alpam eva mahad eva dīrgham eva
vāmanam eva prathate tathā ga-ryaktim ajānata ekā 'pi
ryaṅjaka-bhedāt tat-tad-dharmānubandhinū pratibhāsat | etena
viruddha-dharmādhyāsād bheda-pratibhāsa iti pratyuktam |
tatra kiṁ srābhāciko viruddha-dharmādhyāso bheda-sādhakat-
cena abhīmataḥ prātīko cā | prathamā asiddhiḥ | aparathā
srābhārika-bhedābhypagame dāsa ga-kārān udachārayat Chai-
tra itī prattipattiḥ syād na tu dāśukṛitro ga-kāra itī | dritiye
tu nī srābhārika-bheda-siddhiḥ na hi paropādhi-bhedena svā-
bhārikam aikyaṁ rihanyate | mā bhūd nabhaso 'pi kumbhādy-
upādhi-bhedāt srābhāriko bhedaḥ tatra vyāpīta-ryavahāro nāda-
nidānaḥ | tad uktam āchāryyaiḥ | 'prayojanantu yaj jātes tad
varṇād eva labhyate | ryakti-labhyantu nādebhya itī gatrādi dhār-
cīthā' itī | tathā cha 'pratyabhijñā yadā śabde jāgartti niraca-
grahā | anityatrānumānāni sarva sarvāṇi bādhat' | Etena idam
apūstaṁ yad arādi Vāgiśvareṇa Mānamanohare 'anityaḥ śabdaḥ
indriya-eśeṣha-guṇateāt chaṁ-rūpa-cad' itī | śabda-draṣyātra-
cādinām pratyaxa-siddheḥ dhranyamśv siddha-sāadhanatrācchā |
āśvānatropādhi-bādhitatrācchā | Udayanas tu āśrayāprat-
yaxatve 'py abhārasya pratyaxatām mahatā prabandhena prati-
pādayan nirītaḥ kolāhalaḥ utpannaḥ śabdaḥ nī vyavahārūcha-
raṇe kāraṇam pratyaxaṁ śabdānityatve pramāṇayati sma | so'pi
viruddha-dharma-saṁsargasya aupādhiakatropapādana-nyāyena
datta-rakta-balinā eva tālaḥ samāpohi | nityatve sarvadopalabdhy-
anupalabdhi-prasango yo Nyāyabhūṣaṇa-kāroktāḥ so 'pi dhrani-
saṁskṛitasya upalambhābhypagamāt pratixiptaḥ | yut tu

yugapad indriya-sambandhitena pratnīyata-saṁskāraka-saṁskāryya-bhāvanūmānaṁ tad ātmany anuikāntikam asati kalukale | tatascha vedasya apaurusheyatayā nirasta-samasta-śaṅkā-kalaṅkāṅkuratena svataḥ siddhaṁ dharṁe prāmāṇyam iti susthitam |

Syād etat | 'pramāṇatēpramāṇatē svataḥ Sāṅkhyah saṁāśritāḥ | Naiyāyikās te parataḥ Saugatās' charamaṁ svataḥ | prathamam parataḥ prākuḥ prāmāṇyaṁ reda-vādinah | pramāṇatvaṁ svataḥ prākuḥ parataśchāpramāṇatām' | iti vādi-vicādarśanāt kathamkāraṁ svataḥ siddhaṁ dharma-prāmāṇyam iti siddharatkṛitya sṛikṛiyate | kiñcha kim idaṁ svataḥ prāmāṇyaṁ nāma | kim svata era prāmāṇyasya janma | āhosvit svāśraya-jñāna-janyatraṁ kim uta svāśraya-jñāna-sāmagrī-janyatram utāho jñāna-sāmagrī-janya-jñāna-rīśeshāśritatraṁ kimra jñāna-sāmagrī-mātra-janya-jñāna-rīśeshāśritateam | tatra ādyaḥ sāva-dyaḥ | kāryya-kāraṇa-bhāvasya bheda-samānādhikaraṇatena ekasminn asambharāt | nāpi dvitīyaḥ | guṇasya sato jñānasya prāmāṇyam prati samavāyi-kāraṇatayā dravyatecūpātāt | nāpi tritīyaḥ prāmāṇyasya upādhitē jātire rā janmāyogāt | smṛititrā-nudhikaraṇasya jñānasya bādhatyantābhārah prāmāṇyopādhiḥ | na cha tasya utputti-sambharah atyantābhārasya nityatecābhyupagamāt | ata era na jāter api janir yujyate | nāpi chaturthah | jñāna-rīśesho hy apramā | rīśesha-sāmagryāñcha sāmanya-sāmagrī anuprariśati | śiṁśapā-sāmagryām ira rīra-sāmagrī | aparathā tasya ākasmikatram prasajet | tasmāt paratasteena sṛikṛitāprāmāṇyaṁ vijñāna-sāmagrī-janyāśritam ity atiryāptir āpadhyeta | pañchama-rikalpaṁ rikalpayāmaḥ | kim doshābhāva-sahakṛita-jñāna-sāmagrī-janyatram era jñāna-sāmagrī-mātra-janyatram kim doshābhāvasahakṛita-jñāna-sāmagrī-janyatram | na ādyaḥ | doshābhāva-sahakṛita-jñāna-sāmagrī-janyatram era parataḥ prāmāṇyam iti parataḥ prāmāṇya-vādibhir urarīkaraṇāt | nāpi dvitīyaḥ | doshābhāva-sahakṛitatena sāmagryām sahakṛitatē siddhe ananyathā-siddhānraya-ryatireka-siddhatayā doshābhāvasya kāraṇatayā rājra-lepāyamānateāt | abhārah kāraṇam era na bhavati iti chet tadā vaktavyam abhāvasya kāryyatram asti na rā | yadi nāsti tadā paṭa-pradhraṁsānupapattyḥ

*nityatā-prasaṅgaḥ | atha asti kim aparādhaṁ kṛāṇātrena
 iti sā abhayaṭaḥ-pāśā rajjuh | tad uditam Udayanena 'bhāro
 yathā tathā 'bhāraḥ kṛāṇāṁ kārṇya-rad mataḥ' iti | tathā
 cha prayogaḥ | rimatā pramā jñāna-hetr-atirikta-hetr-adhīnā
 kāryatre sati tad-śiśṣhatrāt apramā-rat | prāmāṇyam parato
 jñāyate anubhyāsa-duśāyām sāmānyikatrat aprāmāṇya-rat |
 tasmā l utpattau jñaptau cha paratastre pramāṇa-sambhavāt
 sṛataḥ siddham prāmāṇyam ity etat pati-kashmāṇḍāyate iti
 chet | tad etad ākāśa mushti-kānāyate | vijñāna-sāmagrī-jān-
 yatre sati tad-atirikta-hetr-ajanyatram pramāṇyāḥ scatastram iti
 nirukti-sambharāt | asti cha atra anumānam | rimatā pramā
 vijñāna-sāmagrī-janyatre sati tad-atirikta-janyā na bharati |
 apramāṭcānadhikaraṇatrāt ghatādi rat | na cha audāyanam
 anumānam paratastra-sādhakam iti śāṅkenūyam | pramā dōsha-
 ryatirikta-jñāna-hetr-atirikta-janyā na bharati | jñānatrād apra-
 māṭcad | iti pratīsādhana-graha-grastatrāt | jñāna-sāmagrī-mātrād
 era pramotpatti-sambhāre tad-atiriktasya guṇasya dośābhā-
 rasya vā kṛāṇatra-kalpanāyām kalpanā-gaurava-prasaṅgāch-
 cha | nann dośasya apramā-hetutrena tad-abhārasya pramām
 prati hetutcaṁ durnirāram iti chet | na dośābhārasya apramā-
 pratibandhakatreṇa anyathā [a?] siddhatrāt | 'tasmād guṇebhyo
 dośānām abhāras tad-abhārataḥ | aprāmāṇya-drayāsattrām
 tenotsargo nayoditah' iti | tathā pramā-jñaptir api jñāna-jñā-
 paka-sāmagrīta ca jāyate | na cha sāmānyānūdaya-prasaṅgo
 bādhaḥ iti yuktaṁ raktam | saty api pratibhāsa-puṣhkala-
 kṛāṇe pratibandhaka-doshādi-samuradhānāt tad-upapattēḥ |
 kiñcha tārakam anumānam sṛataḥ-pramāṇaṁ na vā | ādye
 anāikāntikatā | deitīye tasyāpi parataḥ prāmāṇyam ccaṁ tasya
 tasyāpi ity anavasthā duravasthā syāt | yad atra Kṛsumāṇjalāv
 Udayanena jhātīti prachura-pravṛitteḥ prāmāṇya-niśchayādlīn-
 atvābhāram āpadayatā pranyagādi pravṛittir hi ichchhām apex-
 ate tat-prāchurye cha ichchhā-prāchuryam ichchhā cheshta-
 sādhanatā-jñānaṁ tachcha ishṭa-jātīyatva-lingānubhāvaṁ so 'pi
 indriyārtha-sannikarsham prāmāṇya-grahānantu na krachid
 upayujyate iti tad api taskarasya purustāt kaxe suraṇam*

npetya sarvāṅgodghātanam iva pratibhāti | atah samihita-sādhana-jñānam eva pramānatayā avagamya mānam ichchhām janayati ity atraiva sphuṭa eva prāmānya-grahanasya upayogaḥ | kiñcha kvachid api ched nirvichikitsā pravṛtṭiḥ saṁsayād upapadyeta tarhi sarvatra tathā-bhāva-sambhavāt prāmānya-niśchayo nirarthakaḥ syāt aniśchitasya sattram eva durlabham iti prāmānyaṁ datta-jalāñjalikam bhavet ity alam ati-prapañchena | yasmād uktam 'tasmād sad-bodhakatrena prāptā buddheḥ pramānata | arthānyathātra-hetūttha-doshu-jñānād apodyute' iti | tasmād dharme srataḥ-siddha-pramāna-bhāve 'jyotiḥśomenu svarga-kāmo yajeta' ityādi-ridhy-arthacāṇḍa-mantra-nāmadheyātmake vede yajeta ity atra ta-pratyayaḥ prakṛityarthoparaktām bhāvanām abhidhatte iti siddhe vyutpattim abhyūpagachchhatām abhikṛitānvaya-rādinām Bhaṭṭāchāryyānām siddhānto yūgarishayo niyoga iti kārye vyutpattim anusaratām anvitābhidhāna-rādinām Prabhākara-gurūnām siddhānta iti sarvam avadātam |

“Be it so. But how [the Naiyāyikas may ask] is the Veda alleged to be underived from any personal author? How can you regard the Vedas as being thus underived, when there is no evidence by which this character can be substantiated? The argument urged by you Mīmāṃsakas is, that while there is an unbroken tradition, still no author of the Veda is remembered, in the same way as [none is remembered] in the case of the soul (or self). But this argument is very weak, because the asserted characteristic [unbrokenness of tradition] is not proved; since those who maintain the personal origin [*i.e.*, origin from a person] of the Veda, object that the tradition [regarding the Veda] *was* interrupted at the dissolution of the universe (*pralaya*).¹ And further: what is meant by the assertion that no author of the Veda is remembered? Is it (1) that no author is believed? or (2) that no author is the object of recollection? The *first* alternative cannot be accepted, since it is acknowledged [by us] that God (*Parameśvara*) is proved to be the author. Nor

¹ This objection occurs in a passage of the *Kusumāñjali*, which I shall quote further on.

can the *second* alternative be admitted, as it cannot stand the test of the following dilemma, viz., Is it meant (a) that no author of the Veda is recollected by some *one* person, or (b) by *any person whatever*? The *former* supposition breaks down, since it fails when tried by such stanzas as this, 'he who is religious, and has overcome pride and anger,' etc.² And the *latter* supposition is inadmissible, since it would be impossible for any person who was not omniscient to know that no author of the Veda was recollected by *any person whatever*.

"And moreover, [the Naiyāyikas proceed], the sentences of the Veda must have originated with a personal author, as proof exists that they had such an origin, since they have the character of sentences, like those of Kālidasa and other writers. The sentences of the Veda have been composed by an authoritative person, since, while they possess authority, they have, at the same time, the character of sentences, like those of Manu and other sages.

"But [ask the Mīmāṃsakas] may it not be assumed that, 'All study of the Veda was preceded by an earlier study of it by the pupil's preceptor, since the study of the Veda must always have had one common character, which was the same in former times as now;' ³ and that this inference has force to prove [? that the Veda had no author or was eternal]? Such reasoning [the Naiyāyikas answer] is of no avail as proof, [for it might be said in the same way that] 'All study of the *Mahābhārata* was preceded by an earlier study of it by the pupil's preceptor, since the study of the *Mahābhārata*, from the mere fact of its being such, [must have had the same character in former times]

² I do not know from what work this verse is quoted, or what is its sequel. To prove anything in point, it must apparently go on to assert that such a saint as is here described, *remembers the author of the Veda*, or at least has such superhuman faculties as would enable him to discover the author.

³ The purport of this verse is, that as every generation of *students* of the Veda must have been preceded by an earlier generation of *teachers*, and as there is no reason to assume any variation in this process by supposing that there ever had been any student who taught himself; we have thus a *recessus ad infinitum*, and must of necessity conclude that the Vedas had no author, but were eternal.

as it has now ;' and this mere *semblance* of an argument would be of the same value in either case. But [the Mīmāṃsakas will ask whether there is not a difference between these two cases of the Veda and the Mahābhārata, since] the *smṛiti* declares that [Vishnu incarnate as] Vyāsa was the author of the latter,—according to such texts as this, 'Who else than Pundarikāxa (*the lotus-eyed Vishnu*) could be the maker of the Mahābhārata?' (see above, p. 21),—[whilst nothing of this sort is recorded in any Śāstra in regard to the Veda]. This argument, however, is powerless, since it is proved by these words of the Puruṣa-sūkta, 'From him sprang the *ṛik* and *sāma* verses and the metres, and from him the *gajush* verses,' (above, p. 50) that the Veda *had* a maker.

"Further, [proceed the Naiyāyikas], we must suppose that sound [on the eternity of which the eternity and uncreatedness of the Veda depend] is not eternal, since, while it belongs to a genus, it can, like a jar, be perceived by the external organs of beings such as ourselves. But [rejoin the Mīmāṃsakas], is not this inference of yours refuted by the proof arising from the fact that we recognize the letter G, for example, as the same we have heard before? This argument, [replies the Naiyāyika], is extremely weak, for the recognition in question having reference to a community of species (as in the case of such words as 'a jasmine tree with sprouted tendrils [?] cut and grown again,' etc.) has no force to refute my assertion [that letters are not eternal].

"But, [asks the Mīmāṃsaka], how can the Vedas have been composed by the incorporeal Paramēśvara (God), who has no palate or other organs of speech, and therefore cannot enunciate letters? This objection, [answers the Naiyāyika], is worthless, because, though Paramēśvara is naturally incorporeal, he can yet, by way of sport, assume a body, in order to shew kindness to his devoted worshippers. Consequently, the arguments in favour of the doctrine that the Veda had no personal author are inconclusive.

“ I shall now, [says the *Mīmāṃsaka*], clear up all these difficulties. What is meant by this *pauruṣheyatva* (‘derivation from a personal author’) which it is sought to prove? Is it (1) mere *procession* (*utpannatva*) *from a person* (*puruṣa*), like the procession of the Veda from persons such as ourselves, when we daily utter it? or (2) is it the *arrangement, with a view to its manifestation,—of knowledge acquired through other channels of information*, in the sense in which persons like ourselves compose a treatise? If the *first* meaning be intended, there will be no dispute. If the *second* sense be meant, I ask whether the Veda is proved [to be authoritative] in virtue (*a*) of its being founded on *inference*, or (*b*) of its being founded on *supernatural information*? The *former* alternative (*a*) [*i.e.*, that the Veda derives its authority from being founded on inference] cannot be correct, since this theory breaks down, if it be applied to the sentences of the *Mālatī Mādhava* or any other secular poem, [which may contain inferences destitute of authority]. If, on the other hand, you say (*b*), that the contents of the Veda are distinguished from those of other books by having authority, this explanation also will fail to satisfy a philosopher. For the word of the Veda is [defined to be] a word which proves things that are not proveable by any other evidence. Now if it could be established that this vedic word did nothing more than prove things that *are* proveable by other evidence, we should be involved in the same sort of contradiction as if a man were to say that *his mother was a barren woman*. And even if we conceded that *Parameśvara* might in sport assume a body, it would not be conceivable that [in that case] he should perceive things beyond the reach of the senses, from the want of any means of apprehending objects removed from him in place, in time, and in nature. Nor is it to be thought that his eyes and other senses alone would have the power of producing such knowledge, since men can only attain to conceptions corresponding with what they have perceived. This is what has been said by the *Guru* (*Prabhākara*) when he refutes [the supposition of] an omniscient

person : ' Whenever any object is perceived [by the organ of sight] in its most perfect exercise, such perception can only have reference to the *vision* of something very *distant* or very *minute*, since no organ can go beyond its *own* proper objects, as *e.g.*, the ear can never become cognizant of form.' Hence the authority of the Veda does not arise in virtue of any supernatural information [acquired by the Deity in a corporeal shape, and embodied in the sacred text].

" In spite of the weight attaching [?]⁴ to the rule of Pāṇini (see above, p. 87) that the grammatical affix with which the words Kāthaka, Kālāpa, and Taittirīya are formed, imparts to those derivatives the sense of ' uttered by ' Katha, Kālāpa, etc., it is established that the names first mentioned have reference [*not* to those parts of the Veda being ' uttered ' by the sages in question, but] to the fact that these sages instituted the practice of *studying* those parts of the Veda. Here also these appellations ought to be understood in the same manner, as referring to the fact of those sages being the institutors of the study of the Veda ; and we are not to think that the eternity of sound [or of the words of the Veda] is disproved by the force of any inference [to be drawn from those names], since this would be at variance with the recognition [of letters as the same we knew before] (see above, *Mīmāṃsa Sūtra*, i. 13, p. 56). Nor, even though [numerical] unity were not [predicable of each particular letter] (see *Mīmāṃsa Sūtra*, i. 20, above p. 58), is it proper to insist that each letter is a term expressive of a species. The supposition that it is a generic term is opposed [?] by the intervention of powerful contrary arguments ; or by our perceiving that sometimes this character would fail to be applicable. In respect to those who, while they observe that [a definition] is inapplicable in some cases, yet disregard this circumstance, the following remark has been made by those [the *Mīmāṃsakas*, etc.] who maintain the self-

⁴ Literally, *although the rule of Pāṇini be awake*. The sense given in the text is the only one I can think of.

proving power [of the Veda]: 'The man who through bewilderment disregards even an unknown refutation, being in all matters full of doubt, perishes.'

"But [the Naiyāyikas will ask], does not the recognition [of G and other letters as the same we knew before] refer to them as belonging to the [same] *species*, and not as being the [same] *individual* letters, since, in fact, they are perceived to be different [as uttered by] each person, and since otherwise it would be impossible for us to make any distinction [between different readers, as when we say], 'Somaśarman is reading?' This objection, however, has as little brilliancy as its predecessors, and has been answered in this way, viz., that as there is no proof of any distinction of *individuality* between G's, etc., there is no evidence that we ought to suppose any such thing as a *species* of G's, etc. [*i.e.*, of G's and other letters each constituting a species]. Just as to the man who is ignorant that G's constitute a species, [that letter], though one only, becomes (through distinction of place, magnitude, form [?], individuals, and position [?]) variously modified as distinct in place, as small, as great, as long, or as short, in the same way, to the man who is ignorant of an *individuality* of G's, [*i.e.*, of G's being numerically different from each other], this letter, though only one, appears, from the distinction existing between the different persons who utter it, to be connected with their respective peculiarities; and as ~~contrary~~ characters are in this way erroneously ascribed [to the letter G], there is a fallacious appearance of distinctness [between different G's]. But does this ascription of contrary characters which we thus regard as creating a difference [between G's], result from (1) the *nature of the thing*, or (2) from *mere appearance*? There is no proof of the *first* alternative, as otherwise an inherent difference being admitted between different G's, it would be established that Chaitra had uttered ten [different] G's, and not [the same] G ten times. But on the *second* supposition, there is no proof of any inherent distinction [between G's]; for inherent oneness (or

identity) is not destroyed by a difference of extrinsic disguises [or characteristics]. We must not conceive, from the merely apparent distinctness [occasioned by the separation of its parts] by jars, etc., that there is any inherent distinctness in the atmosphere itself. The fact is that when the action of sound is intercepted [by the atmosphere], it ceases to be audible.⁵ It has been said by the Āchāryya, 'The object which the Naiyāyikas seek, by supposing a *species*, is in fact gained from the letter itself; and the object at which they aim by supposing an *individuality* in letters, is attained from audible *sounds* (*i.e.*, the separate *utterances* of the different letters), so that the hypothesis of species, etc., is useless.' And we thus reach the conclusion that, 'since, in respect of sounds (letters), recognition has so irresistible a power, [literally, *wakes, unrestrained*], it alone repels all inferences against the eternity [of sound, or the Veda].'

This refutes what has been said by Vāgīśvara in the Māna-manohara, that 'sound is not eternal, because it is the quality of a particular organ, as form is of the eye;' for it is to those who declare sound to be a substance, [and to them only?] that the perception [of sound in this manner] is established, while as regards audible sound, the assertion of this perceptibility is merely a proving of what is admitted; and because this theory of sound being the quality of a particular sense is disproved by the characteristic of not making itself [always?] audible.

⁵ I am by no means sure that this sentence is correctly rendered, but have no preferable translation to suggest. I owe the reader some apology for the imperfect and tentative character of my version in many parts of the remainder of this extract. But having begun the translation, I was naturally anxious to carry it on as far as I could. As this part of the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha has not before been rendered into any European language, and we possess as yet no work which explains completely all the technical terms of Indian logic and philosophy, I am unfortunately in an opposite predicament to that on which Kālidāsa congratulated himself at the commencement of his task of celebrating the race of the Raghus, when he was able to say that he could enter upon his subject, which had been previously handled by earlier poets, with the same ease, as a thread penetrates into a gem which has been perforated by a diamond" (*maṇau vajra-samutkīrṇe sūtrasyevasi me gatiḥ*). The reader must just take this part of my translation for so much as he finds it to be worth. But I think that, though I may have erred in details, I have not mistaken the general scope.

And Udayana—maintaining by a long dissertation that, though the substratum be not perceptible by sense, still the non-existence [of sound] is perceptible, and [observing it to be] a customary occurrence that when noise ceases, sound is produced—alleges that perception, which is the cause of that phenomenon, is a proof of the non-eternity of sound. He also is refuted by showing the merely adventitious character of the [effect produced on letters by the] influence of opposite qualities [in the speakers], just as a sacrificial knife is only stained *superficially* by a bloody oblation. And, again, the difficulty which has been raised to the eternity of sound by the author of the Nyāya-bhūṣaṇa, on the ground that it is not observed to be constantly perceived,—this difficulty also is removed by the admitted fact that sound which has been articulated in utterance is perceived. Once more, the inference which is drawn in reference to there being a fixed relation between the articulator and the [sound] to be articulated, from sound having reference to the organs [of many persons?] at one and the same time, this is inconclusive in itself[?], there being no confused noise. And hence, as every stain of doubt which has come to light has been set aside by the underived character of the Veda, its authority as proof in matters of duty is clearly established.

“Be it so. But [verse] ‘the Sāṅkhyas say that both authoritativeness and non-authoritativeness are self-derived; the Naiyāyikas maintain that both are dependent on something external; the Bauddhas assert that non-authoritativeness is self-derived, while authoritativeness depends on something extraneous to itself; and the upholders of the Veda declare that authoritativeness is self-derived, and the absence of it dependent on something external.’ Now, when we observe the differences between the assertors of these several views, how can it be admitted as a settled point that there is such a thing as self-proved authority for duty? And what is this self-proved authority? What is its source (*lit.* birth)? Does it spring (1) from self-dependent knowledge? or (2) from the constituents (or totality) of self-dependent know-

ledge? or (3) does it depend on some special knowledge springing from the constituents (or totality) of knowledge? or (4) does it depend on some special knowledge springing from the *mere* constituents (or totality) of knowledge? The *first* supposition is faulty, from the fact that cause and effect, which are categorically distinct, cannot properly be placed in the same class, or predicated of the same subject. The *second* supposition is no better, owing to the objection that, whereas knowledge is a *quality*, the character of a *substance* is here ascribed to its self-evidencing authority, since the function of a material cause is assigned to it. Nor can the *third* supposition be allowed, for as self-evidencing power is either an *attribute* (*upādhi*) or a *species*, production (*i.e.*, the being produced) does not apply to it. The condition of authoritativeness is the absolute absence of any defect in knowledge which has not recollection (?) for its basis. Now such authoritativeness cannot possibly be *produced*, as it is admitted that absolute non-existence is *eternal*; and consequently the production of *species* also is inadmissible. The *fourth* supposition is equally faulty, for special knowledge is something unauthoritative, and the constituents of the general [or genus] enter into the constituents of the special, as the substance of a tree in general enters into the substance of the [particular] tree, the *śinsāpa* (*sisu*). Otherwise we should be involved in the absurdity that it had no cause. Hence that which depends on what is produced from the constituents of knowledge is confessedly unauthoritative, from its dependence on something external, and thus your definition will fail by embracing too much (*ativyāpti*).

“We shall now (interposes the Mīmāṃsaka) propose a *fifth* supposition. What do you mean by ‘springing from the mere constituents, [or simple totality] of knowledge?’ Does it mean (1) ‘the springing from the constituents of a knowledge which is accompanied by the absence of defects (*i.e.*, which is faultless?),’ or (2) ‘the springing from the constituents of a knowledge which is *unaccompanied* by the absence of defects

(*i.e.*, which is faulty)?' It cannot be the *first*, for 'a springing from the constituents of knowledge which is accompanied by the absence of defects [*i.e.*, which is faultless] is simply authoritativeness *derived from something external*, as is allowed by those who maintain that authoritativeness is derived from something external. Nor can it be the *second*, for the character of *accompaniedness* being substantiated in regard to any object, by the circumstance of its being *accompanied* by the absence of defects,⁶

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If you object that *non-existence* [as in this case of the *non-existence* of defects] cannot be a *cause*, then you must tell us whether it (non-existence) is an *effect* or not. If it be not, then from the [consequent] impossibility [of any substance], a piece of cloth [for instance], being destroyed, we are entangled in the absurdity of supposing that it must be eternal. But if non-existence be an *effect*, what error is there in asserting its *causality* also? thus this rope binds [you] at both ends. And Udayana says (Kusumāñjali, i. 10), 'Just as existence, so also non-existence is regarded as a cause, as well as an effect.'

And now we shall apply this: variously-understood truth (*pramā*) is (our opponents say) dependent on a cause distinct from the cause of knowledge, from the fact of its being a production, and as such, possessing the particular character of a production, just as is the case with error [or the absence of truth, *apramā*]. And authoritativeness is regarded as being derived from something external, owing to the doubtfulness [of the student?] before he has made the matter a subject of repeated study, just as is the case with unauthoritativeness. But to describe as *self-proved* authoritativeness that which, in its origin and in its [earliest] comprehension, thus derives its proof from an *external source*, is (they say) to make an asser-

⁶ I am unable to make out the meaning of the remainder of this sentence, and must therefore leave it untranslated.

tion which is utterly worthless.⁷ But this objection of theirs is as vain as beating the air with their fists. [Such a thing as] a production from the constituents of knowledge [being admitted], it is in not being produced from any cause distinct from *that*, that the self-derivation of truth [or knowledge] consists. This results from the explanation of the term itself. And here we have also an inference [to rely upon]. There being [such a thing as] a production from the constituents of knowledge, variously-understood truth [or knowledge] does not spring from anything distinct from this, since it has not errorousness as its basis, as jars, etc., [have no unhomogeneous material as their basis (?)]. Nor is it to be surmised that Udayana's inference proves [authoritativeness to have] an external source. Correct knowledge does not, like error, spring from anything distinct from the cause of a knowledge which is devoid of defects, because it is knowledge, so that [Udayana's objection] is carried away by the demon of adverse proof [?]. And since it appears that authoritativeness springs from the simple constituents of knowledge, if you suppose that any quality distinct from *that*, or that the absence of defect, is the cause [of authoritativeness], you will incur the charge of making more suppositions than are necessary to explain the facts. If it be objected to this, that since *defect* is the cause of *unauthoritativeness*, it cannot be denied that the *absence of defect* must be the cause of *authoritativeness*, we deny this, since the absence of defect (or faultlessness) is, on other grounds, not proved⁸ to be that which prevents unauthoritativeness."

I shall not attempt to carry farther my translation of this abstruse discussion, as the remainder contains several parts which I should find it difficult to render. The real proof or disproof of the authority of the Veda must rest on grounds very

⁷ I do not know the proper meaning of the word *pūti-kushmāṇḍīyate*. *Pūti* means either "purification" or "stench;" and *kushmāṇḍīyate* is a nominal verb formed from *kushmāṇḍa*, a "gourd." The compound may therefore mean "it is like a gourd full of filth."

⁸ I take the *anyathāsiddhatvāt*, which I find in the Calcutta text, to be for (*anyathā asiddhatvāt*).

much less abstract and metaphysical than such as are here argued with so much subtlety.

The following passage from Śankara's commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*, iii. 2, 40, is partly quoted in Prof. Banerjea's forthcoming work on Hindu Philosophy. In the two preceding *Sūtras*, as explained by Śankara, it had been asserted, both on grounds of reason and on the authority of the Veda, that God is the author of rewards. In the 40th *Sūtra* a different doctrine is ascribed to Jainini: *Dharmañ Jainīnir ata eva || Jainīnis tv āchāryyo dharmaṃ phalaśya dātāraṃ manyate | ata eva hetoḥ śrūter upapattēścha | śrūyate tāvad ayam arthaḥ 'svarga-kāmo yajeta' ity evam ādīshu vākyeṣu | tatra cha vidhi-śrūter viśhaya-bhāropagamād yāgaḥ svargasya utpādakaḥ iti gamyate | anyathā hy ānānushkātyiko yāga āpadyeta tatra asya upadeśasya caivarthyañ syāt | nānā anuṣṭāna-rināśīnaḥ karmaṇaḥ phalañ na upapadyate iti parityakto 'yam paxaḥ | na ccha doṣaḥ śruti-pramāṇyāt | śrutiś chet pramāṇaṃ yathā 'yañ karma-phala-sambandhaḥ śrūtaḥ upapadyate tathā kalpayitavyaḥ | na cha anutpādyā kimapy apūrraṃ karma rināśyat kālāntaritam phalañ dātum śaknoti ity atah karmaṇo vā sūcyaḥ kāchid uttarā-rasthā phalaśya vā pūrrā-rasthā apūrraṃ nāma asti iti tarkyate | upapadyate cha ayam arthaḥ uktena prakāreṇa | Īśvarastu phalañ dadāti ity anupapannam arichitrasya kāraṇasya cichitra-kāryyānupapattē | raishanya-nāirghṛīṇya-prasaṅgād anuśṭhāna-caivarthyaḥ upapattēścha | tasmād dharmād eva phalaṃ iti |* "Jainini says that for this reason virtue [is the giver of reward]. The Āchāryya Jainini regards virtue [*i.e.*, the performance of the prescribed rites and duties] as the bestower of reward. 'For this reason,' and because it is proved by the Veda. This is the purport of the Vedic text, 'Let the man who seeks paradise, sacrifice,' and others of the same kind. As here, we learn the existence of the object [referred to] in the Vedic injunction in question, it is concluded that sacrifice has the effect of producing heaven; for otherwise we should be involved in the absurdity of a sacrifice without a performer [since no one

would care to sacrifice without an object?], and thus the injunction would become fruitless. But may it not be said that it is not conceivable that any fruit should result from a ceremony which perishes every moment, so that this view must be abandoned? No, this defect does not attach to our Mīmāṃsaka statement, since the Veda is authoritative. If the Veda be proof, this connection of the reward with the ceremony must be supposed to exist just as it is proved in the Veda. And from the fact that a ceremony which perishes without generating any unseen virtue, can yet produce a reward at a distant time, it must not be concluded that there is either a certain subtle ulterior form of the ceremony, or a certain subtle anterior form of the reward, which is called 'unseen virtue.' And this result is established in the manner before mentioned. But it is not proved that God bestows rewards, because it is inconceivable that a uniform cause should produce various effects, and because the performance of ceremonies would be useless, owing to the inequality and unmercifulness which would attach [to the supposed arbiter of men's deserts]. Hence it is from virtue that reward results."

How far this passage may be sufficient to prove the atheism of the Mīmāṃsa, I will not attempt to say. Before we could decide on such a question, the Sūtras of that school which refer to this question (if there be any such) would have to be consulted.

Professor Banerjea also quotes the following text from the popular work, the Vidvan-modataranginī, in which the Mīmāṃsakas are distinctly charged with atheism: *Dero na kaśchid bhuvanasya karttā bharttā na harttā 'pi cha kaśchid āste | karmānurūpāṇi śubhāśubhāṇi prāpmoti sarvo hi junaḥ phalāni || vedasya karttā na cha kaśchid āste nityā hi śabdāḥ rachanā hi nityā | prāmāṇyam asmin svata eva siddham anādisiddheḥ parataḥ katham tat* | "There is no God, maker of the world; nor has it any sustainer or destroyer; for every man obtains a recompense in conformity with his works. Neither is there any maker of the Veda, for its words are

eternal, and their arrangement is eternal. Its authoritative-ness is self-demonstrated, for since this authoritative-ness has been established from eternity, how can it be dependent upon anything beyond itself?"

I am informed by Prof. Bauerjica that the Mīmāṃsaka commentator Prabhākara and his school make out the Pūrva Mīmāṃsa to be an atheistic system, while Kumārila treats it as theistic. The last named author makes the following complaint at the commencement of his Vārttika, verse 10 : *Prāyeṇaiva hi mīmāṃsā loke lokāyatikṛitā | tām āstika-pathe karttum ayaṁ yatnah kṛito mayā* | "For in practice the Mīmāṃsa has been for the most part converted into a Lokāyata (atheistic) system (see Colebrooke's Essays, i. 402 ff., or pp. 259 ff. of W. and N.'s ed.); but I have made this effort to bring it into a theistic path." See also the lines which are quoted from the Padma Purana by Vijnāna Bhixu, commentator on the Sāṅkhya aphorisms, in a passage which I shall adduce further on, in a note on p. 103.

NOTE IV. on Page 80, Line 18.

The Tarka-sangraha⁹ says : *Vākyaṁ dvividhaṁ vaidikaṁ laukikaṁcha | vaidikam Īśvaroktatvāt sarvaṁ eva pramāṇam | laukikantu āptoktam pramāṇam anyad apramāṇam* | "Sentences are of two kinds, Vedic and secular. Vedic sentences, from being uttered by Īśvara, are all proof [or authoritative]. Of secular sentences, those only which are uttered by a competent [or wise] person (*āpta*) are proof; the rest are not proof."

In this text, the authority of the Veda is founded on its being uttered by Īśvara; and this characteristic is regarded as limited to the Veda. On the other hand, such secular works as proceed from a competent person (*āpta*) are also declared to possess authority. Here, therefore, a distinction appears to be drawn between the authority of the Veda and that of all other writings,

⁹ See p. 40 of Dr. Ballantyne's ed. with Hindī and English Versions, p. 40 of the Sanskrit.

however authoritative, inasmuch as the former was uttered by Īśvara, while the latter have only been uttered by some competent person (*āpta*). But in the Nyāya aphorism, ii. 68, quoted in p. 80, the authority of the Veda itself is made to rest on the authority of the wise, or competent person (*āpta*), from whom it proceeded. In the aphorism, therefore, either the word *āpta* must mean Īśvara, or we must suppose a difference of view between the author of the aphorism and the writer of the Tarka-sangraha. We shall see in the next note that the author of the Kusumāñjali coincides with the Tarka-sangraha.

If the author of the Nyāya Sūtras did not believe in an Īśvara (see the conclusion of the next note), he could not of course derive the Veda from such a source. Prof. Banerjea, in his forthcoming work on Hindu Philosophy, quotes the following definition of the word *āpta* from Vātsāyana: *Āptaḥ khalu sārāt-kṛta-dharmā | yathā-dṛṣṭasya arthasya clikhyāpayi-shayā prayuktaḥ upadeśṭā | sārāt-karanam arthasya āptis | tayā varttate ity āptaḥ |* “A competent person (*āpta*) means one who has an intuitive perception of duty (the word *sārāt-kṛta-dharman* is used in the Nirukta, i. 20; see Part Second, pp. 174 and 176; and p. 95, note 48, above),—an instructor possessed by the desire of communicating some subject-matter, just as it was seen by him. This intuitive perception constitutes competence (*āpti*). A person who has this competence is competent.” *Āpta* would thus be equivalent to rishi, and could not refer to Īśvara.

The following words are put by the author of the Vishnu Purana (iii. ch. 18; Wilson, p. 340) into the mouth of the deluder who promulgated the Bauddha and other heresies: *Na hy āpta-vādā nabhaso nīpatanti mahāsurāḥ | yuktimaḍ vachanaṁ grāhyam mayā 'nyaiścha bhavadvidhaiḥ |* “Words of the competent do not, great Asuras, fall from the sky. It is only words supported by reasons that should be admitted by me and others like yourselves.”

NOTE V. on Page 81, Line 13.

I extract from the Kusumāñjali of Udayana Āchārya, and its commentary (published at the Sanskrit Press, Calcutta, in the Śaka year, 1769), some fuller statements of the Naiyāyika doctrine regarding the origin and authority of the Veda. Mr. Colebrooke (Ess. i. 263, or p. 166 of W. and N.'s ed.) speaks of this treatise as being accompanied by a commentary of Nārāyana Tīrtha; but the one which is printed in the Calcutta edition, is said to be by Haridāsa Bhattachārya. The object of the work appears to be to prove the existence of a personal god (Īśvara), in opposition to various other antagonistic theories.

I. Kusumāñjali, 2nd Stavaka, at the commencement: *Anyathā 'pi paraloka-sāadhanānushṭhāna-sambhavād iti dvitīya-vipratipattiḥ | Anyathā Īśvaraṁ vinā 'pi paraloka-sādhanaṁ yāgyādyanushṭhānaṁ sambhavati yāgyādēḥ svarga-sādhana-trasya vedagamyatvāt | nitya-nirdoshatayā cha vedasya prāmāṇyam | mahājana-parigrahāchcha prāmāṇyasya graha iti veda-kāranatayā na Īśvara-siddhiḥ | yogardhi-sampādita-sārvaṇīya-kapilādi-pūrvaka eva vā veda 'stu ity atra āha | "pramāyāḥ paratantratvāt sarga-pralaya-sambhavāt | tad-anyasminn ariśvāsūd na vidhāntara-sambhavaḥ" | Śābdi pramā raktri-yathārtha-vakyārtha-dhīrūpa-guṇa-janyā iti guṇādhāratayā Īśvara-siddhiḥ | nanu sakartrike 'stu yathārtha-vākya-rtha-dhīr guṇaḥ | akartrike cha veda nirdoshatvam eva prāmāṇya-prayojakam astu | mahājana-parigraheṇa cha prāmāṇya-graha ity ata āha | "sarga-pralaya-sambhavād" iti pralayaottaram pūrva-veda-nāśād uttara-redasya katham prāmāṇyam mahājana-parigrahasyāpi tadā abhārāt | śābdasya anityatvam utpanno ga-kāra iti pratīti-siddham | pravāhārichcheda-rūpa-nityatvam api pralaya-sambhavād nāsti iti bhāvaḥ | Kapilādaya eva pūrva[?]-sargādaḥ pūrva-sargābhyasta-yogajanya-dharmānubhavāt sākṣāt-kṛta-sakalārthāḥ karttārāḥ santu | ity ata āha | "tad-anyasminn" iti | viśva-nirmāṇo-samarthā animādi-śakti-sampannā yadi sarvaṇīyāḥ tadā lāghavād eku eva tādrīśaḥ svīkṛiyatām | sa eva bhagarān Īśvaraḥ | anityāsarva-*

*vishayaka-jñānavati cha viśvāsa eva nāsti | iti vaidika-ryavahāra-
vilopah iti na vidhāntara-sambhavaḥ | Īśvarānaṅgikartri-naye iti
śeṣaḥ |*

“The second objection is that [there is no proof of an Īśvara], since the means of attaining paradise can be practised independently of any such Being. That is to say, the celebration of sacrifices, etc., which are the instruments of obtaining paradise, can take place otherwise, *i.e.*, even without an Īśvara (God). For the fact that sacrifices, etc., are the instruments of obtaining paradise is to be learned from the Veda, while the authority of the Veda rests upon its eternal faultlessness; and the [immemorial] admission of that authority results from its reception by illustrious men. Now, as in this way the Veda is the cause [of final liberation], there is no proof of a God. Or let it be supposed that the Veda was preceded [composed] by Kapila and other sages, who by their wealth in devotion had acquired omniscience.

“In answer to this, the author says: [verse] ‘Since truth, [or authoritativeness] depends on an external source (see the passage from the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, above, p. 203), since creation and dissolution are probable, and since there is no confidence in any other than God, therefore no other manner can be conceived [in which the Veda originated, except from God (?)].’ [Comment] Scriptural truth [or authoritativeness] is derived from the attribute, possessed by its promulgator, of comprehending the true sense of words [*i.e.*, in order to constitute the Veda an authoritative rule of duty, it must have proceeded from an intelligent being who understood the sense of what he uttered, and not, as some maintain (see above, pp. 83, 104, 105), from a being who unconsciously breathed it out]; and since God is the substratum of this attribute [of intelligence], there is proof of his existence.

“But it may be said, that this comprehension of the true sense of what is uttered may be a quality belonging to a created being; and, again, it may be the faultlessness of the uncreated

Veda, which imparts to it its authority, while the [immemorial] admission of that authority results from its reception by illustrious men.

“In answer to this, the author says: ‘Since creation and dissolution are probable.’ Since the previous Veda (the one which existed during the former mundane period) perished after the dissolution of the universe, how can the subsequent Veda [*i.e.*, the one supposed by our opponents to have existed during the dissolution] be authoritative, since there was not then even any reception of it by illustrious men [who also had all become extinct at the dissolution]. That is to say, the non-eternity of sound is proved by the conviction we have that letters such as G are *produced*, [and not eternal]; and even that eternity (or perpetuity) of the Veda which consists in unbroken continuity of tradition, does not exist, as there is probable proof of a dissolution.¹⁰ But, again, some one will say that Kapila and other saints—who, from their perception of duty, springing from the practice of devotion during the former mundane period, had acquired an intuitive knowledge of every subject—may at the creation have been the authors of the Veda. This is answered in the words, ‘since there is no confidence in any other but God.’ If persons capable of creating the universe and possessing the faculty of minuteness be omniscient, then, for the sake of simplicity, let one such person only be admitted, namely, the divine Īśvara. And no confidence can be reposed in any person who is not eternal, or who is not possessed of a knowledge which extends to all objects. Thus the Vedic tradition [?] disappears. And so he concludes that no other manner [of the origination of the Veda?] can be conceived [except from Īśvara?]; that is, in the system of those who deny an Īśvara [no hypothesis

¹⁰ The Mīmāṃsakas, or at least the Vedantists, seem to reply to this Naiyāyika objection about the interruption of the tradition of the Veda through the dissolution of the universe, by saying that the Veda was retained in the memory of Brahmā during the interval whilst the dissolution lasted. See Kullūka on Manu, i. 23, above, p. 5; and S’ankara on the Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 29, above, pp. 68 and 72; and compare the passages from the Mahābhāṣya, etc., in the concluding note of this Appendix.

can be framed which will account for the production of the Veda?].”

II. Kusumānjali, iii. 16.—*Na pramāṇam anāptoktir nādrishṭe kvachid āptatū | adriṣya-driṣṭau sarvajño na chu nityāgamah xamaḥ | ayaṁ hi sarva-karṭrīvābhāvāvedakah śabdaḥ anāptoktaś ched na pramāṇam | āptoktaś ched etad-artha-gochara-jñānavato nitya-sarva-vishayaka-jñānavattvam indriyādy-abhāvāt | āgamasya cha nityatvaṁ dūṣitam eva prāg iti veda-kāro nityaḥ sarvajñaḥ siddhyati* | [Verse] “The word of an incompetent person is not authoritative; nor can there be any competency in regard to a thing unseen. To perceive invisible things, a person must be omniscient; and an eternal scripture is impossible. [Comment] This [supposed] scriptural testimony, denying the fact of any creation whatever, if uttered by an incompetent person, would be no proof. If it was uttered by a competent person, then the person who possessed an acquaintance with this circumstance [universal non-creation] would be master of a knowledge which was eternal, and universal in its range, from his not being limited by any bodily organs. And we have previously disproved the eternity of any scripture (see the first extract from the Kusumānjali, above). Consequently an omniscient and eternal author of the Veda is established.”

III. Kusumānjali, v. 1.—*Kāryyāyojana-dhṛityādeḥ pudāt pratyayataḥ śruteḥ | vākyāt saṅkhyā-viśeshāchcha sādhyo visva-vid aryayaḥ | . . . Pratyayataḥ prāmāṇyāt | veda-janya-jñānām kāraṇa-guna-janyam pramāṇāt | pratyaxādi-pramāṇat | śruter vedāt | vedaḥ pauruṣheyo vedatrād āyurveda-vat | kiñcha vedaḥ pauruṣheyo vākyatrād bhāratādi-vat | veda-vākyāṇi pauruṣheyāṇi vākyatvād asmad-ādi-vākya-vat* | [Verse] “An omniscient and indestructible Being is to be proved from [the existence of] effects, from the junction of [atoms], from the support [of the earth in the sky], from action, from belief [in revelation], from the Veda, from sentences, and from particular numbers.”

The following is so much of the comment as refers to the words *pratyaya*, *śruti*, and *vākya* : “From belief, i.e., from authorita-

tiveness. The knowledge derived from the Veda is derived from the attributes of its Cause; since it is true knowledge, like the true knowledge derived from perception. From the śruti, i.e., the Veda. The Veda is [shewn to be] derived from a person, by its having the characters of a Veda, like the Ayur-veda. It is also [shewn to be] derived from a person, by having the character of sentences, like the Mahābhārata. The words of the Veda are [shewn to be] derived from a person, by their having the character of sentences, like the sentences of persons such as ourselves."

IV. Kusumāñjali, v. 16.—' *Syām* ' *abhūcam* ' *bhavishyāmī* ' *tyādaṁ saṅkhyā pravakṣi-gā* | *samākhyā* ' *pi cha śākhānām nādyā-pravachanād ṛite* | *Vaidikottama-purushena svatanthroch-chārayituh saṅkhyā vāchyā* | ' *sa aīrata eko* ' *ham bahu syām* ' *ityādi bahulam uttama-purusha śruteḥ* | *saṅkhyā-padārtham anyam āhu* ' *samākhyā* ' *ityādi* | *sarvāsām śākhānām hi Kāṭhaka-Kālāpakādyāḥ saṅkhyāḥ sāmākhyā-rīśeshāḥ śrūyante* | *te cha na adhyayana-mātra-nibandhanāḥ* | *adhyetṛiṇām ānantyāt* | *anādāv anyair api tad-adhyayanāt* | *tasmād atindriyārtha-darśi bhagacān eva* *Īśvaraḥ kārūṇikah sargādāv asmad-ādy-adriṣṭākṛiṣṭa* [ḥ?] ¹¹ *kāṭhakādi-śarīra-rīśesham adhiṣṭhāya yām yām śākhām uktarāms tasyāḥ śākhāyās tannāmnā vyapadeśu iti siddham* *Īśvara-mananam mora-hetuḥ* | [Verse] "The phrases 'let me be,' 'I was,' 'I shall be,' [which occur in the Veda] have reference to a speaker; and the designations of the *śākhās* could only have been derived from a primeval utterance. [Comment] The first person (1), when it occurs in the Veda, must be employed to denote the words of a self-dependent utterer. Now there are many instances there of such a use of the first person, as in the words, 'He reflected, I am one, let me become many.' The author then specifies another signification of the term 'word,' or 'name,' (*saṅkhyā*) in the clause, 'and the designations,' etc. For all

¹¹ I have translated as if there had been a *visarga* at the end of this word, though there is none in the Calcutta text. If the *visarga* be not allowed, we must translate, "the bodies of Katha, etc., which were drawn by the destiny," etc.

the *śākhās* bear in the Veda the names, the special names, of Kathaka, Kālāpaka, etc. And these names cannot be connected with the mere study [of these *śākhās* by Katha, Kālāpa, etc.] from the infinite multitude of students, since if the Veda had no beginning, it must have been studied by others besides the persons just mentioned. Wherefore the particular *śākhās* which Īśvara, the seer of objects beyond the reach of the senses, the compassionate Lord himself uttered,—when at the beginning of the creation, drawn on by the destiny (*adrishṭa*) of beings like ourselves, he assumed the bodies of Katha, etc.,—these *śākhās*, I say, were designated by the names of the particular sages [in whose persons they were promulgated]. And so it is proved that the contemplation of Īśvara is the cause of final liberation.”

I am unable to say if the ancient doctrine of the Nyāya was theistic, like that of the Kustumanjali, the Tarka-sangraha,¹² and the Siddhānta Mukṭāvali (p. 6 of Dr. Ballantyne's ed., or p. 12 of his “Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy,” and p. 3 of Dr. Röer's Bhāṣhā-parichchheda, in Bibl. Ind.) The remarks of Dr. Röer on the subject, in pp. xv., xvi., of the introduction to the last named work, may be consulted. The subject is also discussed by Prof. Banerjea in his forthcoming work on Hindu philosophy. The solution of the question will depend much on the interpretation to be given to the aphorisms of Gotama, 19-21 of the fourth book.

NOTE VI. on Page 89, Line 12.

I find that the phrase *kālātyayāpadishṭa*, which here (and in p. 91, line 21) I have rendered “refuted by the length of time,” is a technical term in the Nyāya philosophy, denoting one of the *hetv-ābhāsas*, or “mere semblances of reasons,” and is thus

¹² *Jñānādhikaraṇam ātmā | sa dvividho jīvātmā paramātmā cha | tatra Īśvaraḥ sarvajñaḥ paramātmā eka eva | jīvātmā prati śarīram bhinno vibhūḥ nityaśca* | “The substratum of knowledge is soul. It is of two kinds, the embodied soul, and the supreme soul. Of these the supreme soul is the omniscient Īśvara, one only. The embodied soul is distinct in each body, all-pervading, and eternal.”

defined in the Nyāya Sūtras, i. 49 : *Kalātyayāpadishtaḥ kālātitaḥ* | which Dr. Ballantyne (Aph. of the Nyāya, p. 42) thus explains : “That [semblance of a reason] is Mistimed, which is adduced when the time is not [that when it might have availed].”

“[For example, suppose one argues that] fire does not contain heat, because it is factitious, [his argument is mistimed, if we have already ascertained, by the superior evidence of the senses, that fire does contain heat].”

Part of the comment of Viśvanātha on this sūtra is as follows : *Atita kālasya samānārtthakotrāt kālātita-śabdena uktaṁ kālasya sadhana-kālasya atyaye abhāre apadishtaḥ prayukto hetuḥ* | *etena sādhyābhāra-pramā-lāzanārtha itī sūchitam* | *sādhyābhāra-nirṇaye sādhanānūsmbhavād ayaṁ eva bādhta-sādhyaka itī gīyate* |

NOTE VII. on Page 90, Line 19.

See also the passage from the Viṣṇu Aranyaka Upanishad (Bibl. Ind. pp. 215, 216), quoted in Part Second, pp. 376, 377, note 4.

NOTE VIII. on Page 103, Line 9.

I find that Vijnana Bhixu, the commentator on the Sankhya aphorisms, takes very nearly the same view as is here quoted from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, in regard to the superiority of the Brahma Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta over the other Darśanas.

In his Sankhya-pravachana-bhāṣya (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 3 ff.), he thus writes : *Syād etat* | *Nyāya-raisehikābhyām atra avirodho bhacatu* | *brahma-mīmāṃsā-yogābhyām tu virodho 'sty eva* | *tābhyām nityeśvara-sādhanaṭ* | *atra cha Īśvarasya pratiśhidhyamānatrāt* | *na cha atrāpi vyārahārika-pāramārthikābhedenā seśvara-nirīśvara-vādayor avirodho 'stu seśvara-vādasya upāsana-paratva-sambhavād itī vāchyaṁ* | *vinigamakābhāvāt* | *īśvaro hi durjñeya itī nirīśvaratvam api loka-vyavahāra-siddham aiśvarya-vairāgyāya anuraditaṁ śakyate ātmanaḥ saguṇatvam eva* | *na tu krāpi śrutyaḍāw īśvaraḥ sphutam pratiśhidhyate yena*

*seśvara-vādasyaiva ryārahārikatvam avadhāryeta iti | atra uch-
 yate | atrāpi ryārahārika-pāramārthika-bhāro bhavati | 'asat-
 yam apratishthaṁ te jagad āhur anīśvaram' | ityādi-śāstrair
 nirīśvara-rādasya ninditatāt | asminn eva śāstre ryārahārik-
 asyaiva pratishedhasya aiśvarya rairāgyādy-artham anuvādat-
 auchityāt | yadi hi laukāyatika matānusāreṇa nityaiśvaryaṁ
 na pratishidhyeta tadā paripūrṇa-nitya-nirdoshaiśvarya-darśa-
 nena tatra chittāviśato cirekabhyāsa-pratibandhaḥ syād iti sāṅ-
 khyūchāryyānām āśayaḥ | seśvara-rādasya na krāpi nindādikam
 asti yena upāsanādi-paratayā tat śāstraṁ saṅkochyeta | yat tu
 'nāsti sāṅkhyā samāṁ jñānaṁ nāsti yoga-samam balam | atra
 ca saṁśayo nū bhūj jñānaṁ sāṅkhyam paraṁ smṛitam' ityādi
 cākyam tad-cirekāṁśe eva sāṅkhyā-jñānasya darśanāntarebhyā
 utkarṣham prapīḍayati na tr īśvara-pratishedhāṁśe 'pi | tathā
 Parāśarādy-akhila-śiṣhta-saṁcūdālapī seśvara-rādasyaiva pāra-
 mārthikatvam avadhāryate | api cha 'Arapāda-pranīte cha
 kānāde sāṅkhyā-yogayog | tyājyaḥ śruti-virudho 'mśaḥ śrutyeka-
 śaraṇair nṛibhiḥ | Jaiminīye cha Vaiyāse virudhāṁśo na kaś-
 chana | śrutyā vedārtha-rijñāne śruti-pāraṁ gatau hi tuu' | iti
 Parāśaropapurāṇādibhyo 'pi brahma-mīmāṁsāyā īśvarāṁśe
 balavatvam | yathā | 'nyāya-tantrāṇy anekāni tais tair uktāni
 vādibhiḥ | hete-āgama-sadācārair yad yuktaṁ tad upāsyatām' |
 iti moxa-dharma-vākyād api Parāśarādy-akhila-śiṣhta-ryavahā-
 reṇa brahma-mīmāṁsā-nyāya-aiśvārya-shikādy-ukta īśvara-sādhaka-
 nyāya eva grāhyo balavattāt | tathā | 'Yaṁ na paśyanti yogin-
 drāḥ sāṅkhyā api mahēśvaram | anādi-nidhanam brahma tam
 eva śaraṇaṁ vraja' | ityādi-kaurmādi-cākyaiḥ sāṅkhyānām
 īśvarājñānasyaiva nārāyaṇādinaṁ proktatrāchcha | kiñcha brah-
 ma-mīmāṁsāyā īśvaraḥ eva mukhyo vishayaḥ upakramādibhir
 avadhṛitaḥ | tatrāṁśe tasya bādhe śāstrasyaiva aprāmānyaṁ
 syāt | 'yat-paraḥ śabdaḥ sa śabdārthaḥ' iti nyāyāt | sāṅkhyā-
 śāstrasya tu puruṣārtha-tat-sādhana-prakṛiti-puruṣa-virekā-
 eva mukhyo vishayaḥ | iti īśvara-pratishedhāṁśa-bādhe 'pi na
 aprāmānyam | 'Yat-paraḥ śabdaḥ sa śabdārthaḥ' iti nyāyāt |
 ataḥ sārakāśatayā sāṅkhyam eva īśvara-pratishedhāṁśe durbalam*

iti | na cha brahma-mīmāṃsāyām api īśvara eva mukhyo vishayo
 na tu nityaiśvaryaṃ iti vaktuṃ śakyate | 'smṛity-anavakāśa-
 dosha-prasaṅga'-rūpa-pūrva-paśasya anupapattiyā nityaiśvarya-
 ya-viśiṣṭatvāna eva brahma-mīmāṃsā-vishayatvādvadhāraṇāt |
 brahma-śabdasya para-brahmany eva mukhyatayā tu 'athātāḥ
 para-brahma-jijñāsā' iti na sūtritam iti | etena sāṅkhya-virodhād
 brahma-yoga-darśanayorh kār्याśvara-paratvam api na śaṅkanī-
 yam | prakṛiti-svātantryapattiyā 'rachanānupapattēścha na
 anumānam' ityādi brahma-sūtra-paramparā-nupapattēścha |
 tathā 'su purvashūm api guruḥ kālena anavachchhedād' iti
 yoga-sūtra-taditiya-vyāsa-bhāṣyābhyāṃ sphuṭam īśa-nityatārva-
 māchcha iti | tasmād abhyupagama-rādu-praudhī-rādādinā eva
 sāṅkhyasya ryāvahārikēśvara-pratishedha-paratayā brahma-
 mīmāṃsā-yogābhyāṃ saha na virodhaḥ | abhyupagama-vādaścha
 śāstre drishtaḥ | yathā Vishṇu-purāṇe (i. 17, 54) | 'Ete bhinnā-
 drīṣāṃ dūtiyā rikalpāḥ kathītā mayā | kṛitrā 'bhyupagamāṃ
 tatra saṅkṣepaḥ śrūyatām mama' | iti | astu rā pāpināṃ jñāna-
 pratibandhārtham āstika-darśaneśhr apy aṃśataḥ śruti-cirud-
 dhārtha-ryarasthāpanāṃ teshu tesho aṃśeśho aprāmānyaṅcha |
 śruti-smṛity-aviruddheshu tu mukhya-vishayeshu prāmānyam asty
 eva | ata eva Padma-purāṇe brahma-yoga-darśanātirikānāṃ
 darśanānāṃ nindā 'py upapadyate | Yathā tatra Pārvaṭīm
 prutī īśvara-vākyam | 'śrīṃ devī pracaryāmi tāmasāni yathā-
 kramam | yeshāṃ śvaraṇa-mātreṇa pātityāṃ jñānināṃ api | pra-
 thamaṃ hi mayāvoktāṃ śaivam Pāśūpatādikam | machchhakty-
 āveśitair vipraiḥ samproktāni tataḥ param | Kaṇādena tu sam-
 proktāṃ śāstraṃ vaiśeṣikam mahat | Gautamena tathā nyāyaṃ
 sāṅkhyaṃ tu Kapilena vai | dvijanmanā Jaiminīnā pūrvam veda-
 mayārthataḥ | nirīśvareṇa vādena kṛitam śāstram mahattaram |
 Dhīśhanena tathā proktam chārvākam atī-garhitam | daityānāṃ
 nāśanārthāya Viṣṇuṇā Buddha-rūpinā | bauddha-śāstram asat
 proktam nagna-nīla-paṭādikam | māyā-vādam asach-chhāstram
 prachchhannam bauddham eva cha | mayāiva kathītam devī kalau
 brāhmaṇa-rūpinā | apārthaṃ śruti-vākyānāṃ darśayat loka-
 garhitam | karma-svarūpa-tyāgyatram atra cha pratipādyate |

*sarva-karma-paribhramśād naiśkarmyaṁ tatra chochyaṭe | pa-
rātma-jīvaḥ aikyaṁ mayā 'tra pratipādyate | brahmaṇo 'sya
paraṁ rūpaṁ nirguṇaṁ darśitam mayā | sarvasya jagato 'py
asya nāśanārthaṁ kalau yuge | vedārthavad mahāśāstram māyā-
vadam avaidikaṁ | mayaiḥ kathitaṁ devī jagatāṁ nāśa-kāra-
ṇād' | iti | adhikuṁ tu brahma-mīmāṃsū-bhāṣhye prapañchitam
asmābhir iti | tasmād āstika-śāstrasya na kasyāpy aprāmāṇyaṁ
virodho rā sa-śva-vishayeshu sarveshām abādhdāt arirodhāchcha
iti | nanv evaṁ puruṣa-bahutoṣṇe 'py asya śāstrasya abhyu-
pagama-vādatvaṁ syāt | na syāt | arirodhāt | brahma-mīmāṃ-
sūyam apy 'aṁśo nānā-nyapadesāt' ityādi sūtra-jātair jīvātma-
bahutvasyaiva nirṇayāt | sāṅkhya-siddha-puruṣhānām atmatvaṁ
tu brahma-mīmāṃsayā bādhyate eva | 'ātma iti tūpayanti' iti tat-
sūtreṇa paramātmāna eva paramārtha-bhūmāv atmatvāvadhā-
raṇāt | tathāpi cha sāṅkhyasya na aprāmāṇyam | vyāvahāri-
kātmāno jīvasya itara-viveka-jñānasya moxa-sādhanaṭve vivaxi-
tārthe bādhabhāvāt | etena śruti-smṛiti-prasiddhāyor nānātmai-
kāmatrayor vyāvahārika-pāramārthika-bhedena arirodhaḥ |*

“Be it so : let there be here no discrepancy with the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. But it will be said that the Sāṅkhya is really opposed to the Brahma-mīmāṃsā (the Vedānta) and the Yoga [of Patanjali]; since both of these systems assert an eternal Īśvara (God), while the Sāṅkhya denies such an Īśvara. And it must not be said (the same persons urge) that here also [as in the former case of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika], owing to the distinction between practical [or conventional, or regu-
lative] and essential truths, there may be no [real] con-
trariety between the theistic and the atheistic theories, in-
asmuch as it appears that the theistic theory has a view
to devotion [and may therefore have nothing more than a
practical end in view];—you are not, it will be said, to assert
this, as there is nothing to lead to this conclusion [or, dis-
tinction]. For as Īśvara is difficult to be known, the atheistic
theory also, which is founded on popular opinion, may, indeed,
be maintained for the purpose of inspiring indifference to

the divine majesty, (just as it is [erroneously] asserted that soul has [the three] qualities); but neither the Veda, nor any other śāstra contains a distinct denial of an Īśvara, by which the *merely* practical [or conventional] character of the theistic theory could be shewn. [Consequently the theistic theory is not a mere conventional one, but true, and the contradiction between the atheistic Sāṅkhya and the theistic systems is real and irreconcilable].

To this we reply: in this case also the distinction of practical and essential truths holds. For the *atheistic* theory is censured by such texts as the following: 'They declare a world without an Īśvara to be false and baseless.' Now it was proper that in this system (the Sāṅkhya), the *merely* practical [or conventional] denial [of Īśvara] should be inculcated for the purpose of inspiring indifference to the divine majesty, and so forth. Because the idea of the author of the Sāṅkhya was this, that if the existence of an eternal Īśvara were not denied, in conformity with the doctrine of the Laukāyatikas, men would be prevented by the contemplation of a perfect, eternal, and faultless godhead, and by fixing their hearts upon it, from studying to discriminate [between spirit and matter]. But no censure on the *theistic* theory is to be found in any religious work, whereby [the scope of] that system might be restricted, as having devotion, etc., in view, as its only end. And as regards such texts as the following:—'There is no knowledge like the Sāṅkhya, no power like the Yoga; doubt not of this, the knowledge of the Sāṅkhya is considered to be the highest,' they [are to be understood as] proving the superiority of the Sāṅkhya doctrine over other systems, not in respect of its atheism, but only of its discrimination [between different principles]. In the same way it is established by the colloquy of Parāśara, and all other well-instructed persons, that the theistic theory is that which represents the essential truth. Further, such texts as the following of the Parāśara Upapurana, and other works, shew the strength of the Brahma-

mīmāṃsā on the side of its theism, viz., ‘In the systems of Axapāda (Gotama) and Kanāda, and in the Sāṅkhya and Yoga, that part which is opposed to the Veda should be rejected by all persons who regard the Veda as the sole authority. In the systems of Jaimini and Vyāsa (the Vedānta) there is no portion contrary to the Veda, since both these sages, by [adhering to] the Veda [itself], have obtained a perfect comprehension of its true meaning.’ In the same way it results from this text of the Moxa-dharma (a part of the Śānti-parva of the Mahābhārata), viz.: ‘Many systems of reasoning have been promulgated by different authors; [in these] whatever is established on grounds of reason, of scripture, and of approved custom, is to be respected;’ [from this text also, I say, it results] that the theory,—declared in the Brahma-mīmāṃsā, the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika, etc., in consonance with the tradition of Parāśara and all other well-instructed men,—which asserts an Īśvara, is alone to be received, in consequence of its strength; and [it is] also [to be received] because in such passages as this of the Kaurma-purana, viz.,—‘Take refuge with that Mahesvara, that Brahma without beginning or end, whom the most eminent Yogis, and the Sāṅkhyas *do not behold*,’—Narāyaṇa (Vishnu) asserts that the Sāṅkhyas are ignorant of Īśvara.

Moreover, Īśvara is determined to be the principal subject of the Brahma-mīmāṃsā by the introductory statement, etc., of that system. If it were open to objection on that side [*i.e.*, on the side of its principal subject], the entire system would be without authority. For it is a rule of logic that ‘the sense of a word is that which it is intended to denote.’ But the principal subjects of the Sāṅkhya are—(1) the grand object of human pursuit, and—(2) the distinction between nature (*prakṛiti*) and spirit (*puruṣa*), which is the instrument of attaining that grand object. Thus the Sāṅkhya does not lose its authority, even though it be erroneous in so far as it denies an Īśvara. For it is a rule of logic that ‘the sense of a word is that which it is intended to denote.’ Hence, from its being an

essential point, the Sāṅkhya is weak in so far as it denies an Īśvara.

Nor can it be alleged that it is Īśvara only, and not the eternity of his existence, that is the principal subject of the Brahma-mīmāṃsā; since, through the disproof of the objection (*pūrvāpaxa*) that the theistic theory 'is chargeable with the defect of rendering the *smṛiti* inapplicable,'¹³ it is ascertained that the assertion of an eternal Īśvara is the main object of the Brahma-mīmāṃsā. But as the word *Brahma* is principally employed to denote the *supreme Brahma*, the first aphorism of the Brahma-mīmāṃsā does not run thus, 'Now follows the enquiry regarding the *supreme Brahma*;' but thus, 'Now follows the enquiry regarding *Brahma*.' Hence we are not to surmise that, from their [otherwise] contradicting the Sāṅkhya, the Brahma-mīmāṃsā and Yoga systems must aim at establishing [not an eternal Deity] but a [secondary] Īśvara, who is merely an *effect*. For this is disproved (1) by the Brahma Sūtra (ii. 2, 1) which (founding on the objection that exists to the independent action of *Pradhāna* or nature) concludes that 'an unintelligent cause of the world cannot be inferred, as it is not conceivable that it should have been framed by such a

¹³ I extract here the entire aphorism referred to (Brahma Sūtras, ii. 1, 1), with a few lines of S'ankara's commentary. *Smṛity-anavakūśa-dosha-prasaṅga iti chet | na | anya-smṛity-anavakūśa-dosha-prasaṅgāt || . . . tatra prathamam tūvat smṛiti-virodham upanyasya pariharati | yad uktam Brahma eva sarvajñaṁ jagataḥ kṛāṇam iti tad ayuktam | kutaḥ | smṛity-anavakūśa-dosha-prasaṅgāt | . . . tasya samādhiḥ | 'na | anya-smṛity-anavakūśa-dosha-prasaṅgāt' iti | yadī smṛity-anavakūśa-dosha-prasaṅgena Īśvara-kṛāṇa-vādaḥ ūcīyeta evam apy anyū Īśvara-kṛāṇa-vādaṇyaḥ smṛitayo 'navakūśāḥ prasajyeran |* (Sūtra) "If it be said that [this theory] is [wrong, as it is] chargeable with the defect of rendering the *smṛiti* inapplicable [or contradicting the *smṛiti*], [I answer] No, for [the other theory] would be chargeable with the defect of rendering *other* texts of the *smṛiti* inapplicable.' (Comment) Here, he first of all proposes and removes the objection of contrariety to the *smṛiti*. 'It is wrong,' says the objector, 'to assert that Brahma is the omniscient cause of the world.' Why? 'Because the fault of making the *smṛiti* inapplicable attaches [to this theory]. . . . The difficulty is removed in this way: 'No, for [the other theory] would be chargeable with the defect of rendering *other* texts of the *smṛiti* inapplicable.' Even if the theory of divine causality were rejected on the ground of rendering the *smṛiti* inapplicable, still [the antagonistic theory] would be open to the objection of rendering inapplicable those *other* texts of the *smṛiti* which assert a divine causality."

cause,' and by the series of the following sūtras ; and (2) by the fact that the eternity of God is clearly understood from the Yoga aphorism [i. 26], viz., 'He is also the instructor of the ancients, as he is not circumscribed by time,' as well as from the commentary of Vyāsa thereon.¹⁴ Thus [if we take into account the difference between] the exoteric and esoteric methods of discussion,¹⁵ [we shall find that] as the Sankhya has in view a [merely] practical denial of an Īśvara, it does not contradict the Brahma-mīmāṃsā or the Yoga. The exoteric method [or method of *approach*, to which allusion has been made] is referred to in the Śāstra. Thus it is said in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa [i. 17, 54, Wilson, p. 132], 'These notions, Daityas, which I have described, are the mistakes of persons who look on the Deity as distinct from themselves. Hear now briefly from me [the views of those who] have made an *approach* [? to the truth].'

"Or let it be [supposed] that even theistic systems, with the view of preventing sinners from attaining knowledge, lay down doctrines which are partially opposed to the Veda ; and that in those particular portions they are not authoritative. Still, in their principal contents, which are consonant to the *śruti* and the *smṛiti*, they possess authority. Accordingly, in the Padma Purāṇa we find a censure passed even upon the several philosophical systems (*darśanas*), with the exception of the Brahma (the Vedānta) and the Yoga. For in that work Īśvara (Mahādeva) says to Parvatī, 'Listen, goddess, while I declare to you the *tāmasa* works (the works characterised by *taṃas*, or the quality of darkness) in order ; works by the mere hearing of

¹⁴ I quote the commentary of Bhoja-rājā on this Sūtra, as given by Dr. Ballantyne (Aphorisms of the Yoga, part first, p. 32): *Purveshūm | ādyūnām Brahmādnām api sa guruḥ upadeshtū yataḥ sa kūlena anavachchhidyate anādityāt | teshām punar ādimattvād asti kūlena avachchhedah* | "Of the ancients, that is, of the earliest [beings], Brahmā and the rest, he is the *guru*, i.e., the instructor, because He, as having no beginning, is not circumscribed by time ; while they, on the other hand, having had a beginning, are circumscribed by time."

¹⁵ I suppose from the context that the expressions *abhyupagama-vāda*, "the mode of discussion which approaches the truth," and *prauḍha-vāda*, "the mode of discussion suited to advanced knowledge," answer in some measure to our idea of exoteric and esoteric systems respectively.

which even wise men become fallen. First of all, the Śaiva systems, called Pāsupata, etc., were delivered by myself. Then the following were uttered by Brahmins penetrated by my power, viz. (2), the great Vaiśeṣika system of which Kanāda was the author, and (3) the Nyāya and (4) Sāṅkhya, which were promulgated by Gotama and Kapila respectively. Then (5) the great system, the Pūrva-[mīmāṃsā] was composed by the Brahmin Jaimini from Vedic materials, but on atheistic principles. So too (6) the abominable Cārvāka doctrine was declared by Dīrghakapila,¹⁵ while Viṣṇu, in the form of Buddha, with a view to the destruction of the Daityas,¹⁶ promulgated (7) the false system of the Bauddhas, who go about naked, or wear blue garments. I myself, goddess, assuming the form of a Brahmin, uttered in the Kali age, the untrue theory of *māyā* [illusion, the more modern form of the Vedānta], which is covert Buddhism, which imputes a perverted and generally censured signification to the words of the Veda, and inculcates the abandonment of ceremonial works, and an inactivity consequent on such cessation. In that system I propound the identity of the supreme and the embodied soul, and show that the highest form of Brahma is that in which he is devoid of the [three] qualities. It was I myself, goddess, by whom this great śāstra, which, composed of Vedic materials and inculcating the theory of illusion, is yet un-Vedic, was declared in the Kali age for the destruction of this entire universe.' We have entered into fuller explanations on this subject in the Brahma-mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya. There is, therefore, no want of authority, nor any contradiction, in any theistic system, for they are all incapable of refutation in their own especial subjects, and are not mutually discrepant. Does, then, this system (the Sāṅkhya) lay down a merely exoteric theory in respect of the multitude of souls also? It does not. For in the Brahma-mīmāṃsā also it is determined by such kinds of texts as the following (Brahma Sūtras, ii.

¹⁵ A name of Viṣṇu, according to Wilson's dictionary.

¹⁶ See Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, pp. 334 ff.

3, 43), viz., 'the embodied spirit is a part of the supreme soul, from the variety of appellations,' that there is a multitude of embodied spirits. But it is denied by the Brahmanimāṃsā that the spirits (*puruṣha*) asserted by the Sāṅkhya have the character of Soul; for it is determined by the Brahma Sūtra (iv. 1, 3), 'they approach Him as one with themselves,'¹⁷ that on the ground of transcendental truth, the supreme Soul alone has the character of Soul. But, nevertheless, the Sāṅkhya is not unauthoritative; for as the other discriminative knowledge possessed by the embodied spirit in its worldly condition is instrumental to final liberation, this system is not erroneous in the particular subject matter which it aims at propounding. In this way it results from the distinction of practical and real which exists between the two theories (made known by the *śruti* (Veda) and *smṛiti*), of a multitude of souls, and the unity of all soul, that [the Sāṅkhya] is not contrary [to the Vedānta]."

Note IX. on Page 112, Line 22.

Sāyana's Introduction to R. V. vol i. p. 23.—*Manushya-vṛittānta-pratipādakā ṛichō nārāsaṃśyaḥ* | "The *nārāsaṃśis* are verses which set forth the histories of men."

If these *nārāsaṃśis* were *ṛichah*, verses of the hymns, and if, according to Sāyana's definition, their object was to record events in human history, it follows that these verses must have referred to non-eternal objects. Either therefore Sāyana's definition must be wrong, or the author of the Mimāṃsā Sūtras must have made a mistake in asserting that the hymns contain no reference to events which have taken place *in time*.

¹⁷ The original Sūtra runs thus: *Ātmā iti tu upagachchhanti grāhayanti cha* | "They approach Him as one with themselves, and [certain texts] cause them to receive Him as one with themselves." This refers to certain texts which S'ankara adduces from one of the Upanishads, apparently.

NOTE X. on Page 126, Line 15.

The expression here employed, *pitṛīṇāñcha manmabhīḥ*, is repeated in R. V. x. 57, 3 (= Vāj. Sanh. 3, 53): *Mano nu ā huvāmahe nārāśaṁsena somena pitṛīṇāñcha manmabhīḥ* | “We invoke his spirit with soma accompanied by human praises, and by the hymns [or prayers] of the fathers.”

The Vāj. San. Sanhitā reads *stomena*, “hymn,” instead of *somena*. The commentator there explains *nārāśaṁsena stotreṇa* as a “hymn in which men are praised,” and *pitṛīṇāñcha manmabhīḥ* as hymns “in which the fathers are revered” (*pitaro yaiḥ stotrair manyante te manmānas tair ityādi*).

NOTE XI. on Page 148, 4th Line from the bottom.

I should have recalled attention here to the verse of the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 9, quoted in p. 10, and also in Part First, pp. 7 and 8, in which the Rik and Sāma verses, the metres, and the Yajush are said to have sprung from the great mystical victim Purusha.

We have also seen that in the passage of the Atharva-veda cited at the top of p. 11, two of the Vedas are said to have sprung from *Time*. The same Veda, as quoted by Prof. Goldstücker in the Preface to his *Manava-kalpa-sūtra*, p. 70, assigns yet another origin to the Vedas. Ath. V. xi. 7, 24: *Ṛichah sāmāni chhandāṁsi purāṇaṁ yajushā sahā | uchchhishtāj jajñire ityādi* | “The Rik and Sāma verses, the metres, the Purana, with the Yajus, sprang from the remainder of the sacrifice.”

NOTE XII. on Page 149, 3rd Line from the foot.

It appears from Prof. Benfey's note on S. V. ii. 294 (= R. V. ix. 96, 6, quoted in p. 163), that the scholiast on that passage also makes *devānām* = *ṛitvijām*, “priests.”

NOTE XIII. on Page 176, Line 12.

In R. V. x. 57, 2, we find the same word *tantu* occurring :
Yo yajñasyu prasādhanas tantur deveshu ātatas tam āhutaṁ
naśumahi | “May we obtain [?] him [Agni?] whom we have
 invoked, who is the fulfiller of sacrifice, who is the thread
 stretched to the gods.”

Prof. Roth quotes under the word *tantu* the following text
 from the Taittiriya Brahmana, ii. 4, 2, 6 : *Ā tantum Agnir*
divyaṁ tatāna | *traṁ nas tantur uta sctur Agne tvam panthā*
bhāvāsi dera-yānah | “Agni has stretched the divine thread.
 Thou, Agni, art our thread and bridge ; thou art the path lead-
 ing to the gods.”

ADDITIONAL NOTE, on Page 5, Line 14, and Page 213, Line 1,
 of the Appendix.

The following passages from Patanjali's Mahabhāṣya, and
 from the commentaries of Kaiyaṇa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa, are ex-
 tracted from fuller quotations given by Prof. Goldstucker in
 pp. 147, 148, of the very learned Preface to his Mānava-kalpa-
 sūtra.

Patanjali.—*Nanu cha uktam 'na hi chhandāmsi kriyante nityāni chhandāmsi' iti* | *yadyapy artho nityah* | *yā tv asau varnānupūrē sā anityā tad-bhedāch-chu ctad bhavati Kāthakam Kālāpakam Moudakam Paippalādakam ityādi . . .* | Kaiyaṇa.—
'Nityāni' iti | *karttur asmaranāt teshām iti bhārah* | *'yā tv asāv' iti* | *mahāpralayādishu varnānupūrē-vināśe punar utpadya rishayah saṁskārātisayād redārtham smṛitvā śabda-rachanā vidadhāti ity arthah* | *'tad-bhedād' iti* | *ānupūrē-bhedād ity arthah* | *tataścha Kāthādayo vedānupūrvyāḥ karttārāḥ eva ityādi* | Nāgajibhaṭṭa.—*Aṁśena vedasya nityatvaṁ svīkritya aṁśena anityatvaṁ āha 'yadyapy arthah' iti* | *anena vedatvaṁ*

śabdārthobhaya-vṛtti dhvanīcam | nanu 'dhātū yathā pūrvam akalpaya' ityādi-śruti-baleṇa ānupūrvī api sā eva iti narya-pūrva-mīmāṃsā-siddhāntāt sā nityā iti ayuktam ata āha 'mahā-pralayādishv' iti | ānupūrvyās tat-tat-xaṇa-ghaṭitatveṇa anityatvam iti bhāvaḥ iti kechit | tanna | 'yadyapy artho nityaḥ' ityādi-vākya-śeṣa-virodhāt | arthasyāpi jyotiṣṭomāder anityatvāt | pravāhāvichchedeṇa nityatvaṁ tu ubhayor api tasmād manvantara-bhedeṇa ānupūrvī bhinnā eva 'prati-manvantara-ñchaishā śrutir anyā vidhīyate' ity ukteḥ ity anye | pare tu | 'artho nityaḥ' ity atra kṛitakatra-virodhy-anityatrasya eva abhyupagamah pūrva-paṇinī tādṛśa-nityatrasya eva chhandassu ukteḥ | evaṅcha artha-śabdena atra īśvaraḥ | mukhyatayā tasya eva sarva-veda-tātparyya-vishayaatrāt | 'vedaiścha surair aham eva vedyah' iti Gītakteḥ ity āhauḥ | varṇānupūrvyāḥ anityatve mānam āha 'tad-bhedāchcha' iti | anityatva-vyāpya-bhedeṇa tat-siddhiḥ | bhedo 'tra nānātram | Īśvare tu na nānātram | bhede mānam vyavahāram āha | 'Kāthaka' ityādi | arthaikyē 'py ānupūrvī-bhedād eva Kūṭhuka-kālāpakādi-vyavahārah iti bhāvaḥ | atra ānupūrvī anityā ity ukteḥ padāni tāny eva iti dhvanītram tad āha tataścha Kūṭhādayaḥ ityādi |

As Prof. Goldstücker has only given (in p. 146 of his Preface) a translation of the above extract from Patanjali, and has left the passages from Kaiyyata and Nagojibhatta untranslated, I shall give his version of the first, and my own rendering of the two last.

Patanjali.—"Is it not said, however, that 'the Vedas are not made, but that they are permanent (i.e., eternal)?' (Quite so); yet, though their sense is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same; and it is through the difference in this latter respect that we may speak of the versions of the Kāthas, Kalāpas, Mudakas, Pippalādakas, and so on." *Kaiyyata on Patanjali*.—" 'Eternal;' by this word he means that they are so, because no maker of them is remembered. By the words, 'the order of their letters,' etc., it is meant that, the order of the letters being destroyed in the great dissolutions of

the universe, etc., the rishis, when they are again produced, recollecting, through their eminent science, the sense of the Veda, arrange the order of the words. By the phrase, 'through the difference of this,' is meant the difference of order. Consequently, Katha and the other sages [to whom allusion was made] are the authors of the order of the Veda." *Nagojibhaṭṭa on Patanjali and Kāṇḍīya*.—"Admitting in part the eternity of the Veda, he declares in the words, 'though the sense is eternal,' etc., that it is also in part *not* eternal. By this clause, *vedicity*, or the essence of the Veda, is [declared to consist in] being sound composed of both its constituents, viz., *words* and their *meanings*. But is not the order eternal, since it is a settled doctrine, both of the new and the elder Mīmāṃsakas,¹⁸ on the strength of such Vedic texts as this, 'the creator made them as before,' etc., that the order also is the very same? No; this is incorrect, and in consequence, he says, 'in the great dissolutions,' etc. Some say the meaning of this is, that the order is not eternal, inasmuch as it exists in particular [or successive] moments. But this is wrong, because it is opposed to the rest of the sentence, viz., the words, 'though their sense is eternal,' etc., and because the objects signified also, such as the *jyotish-toma* sacrifice, are not eternal. Others say that both the sense and the order of the words are eternal [or permanent], owing to the continuity of the tradition; and that consequently it is in different manvantaras that the order of the words is different, according to the text, 'in every manvantara this śruti (Veda) is made different.' Others again think that in the words, 'the sense is eternal,' etc., an assertion is made by an objector of a non-eternity opposed to [mere] *production*, since it is only such a [qualified] eternity [or permanence] that is mentioned in the Veda; and that thus the word 'sense,' or 'object' (*arthak*), here refers to Īśvara, because he is the principal object which is had in view in the whole of the Veda, according to the words of the Bhagavad-gītā (xv. 15),

¹⁸ This means, I suppose, Vedāntins and Purva Mīmāṃsakas.

'It is I whom all the Vedas seek to know.' He next states the proof of the assertion that the order of the letters is not eternal, in the words, 'through the difference of this,' etc. The difference in the order is proved by the difference in the things included under the category of non-eternity. Difference here means variety. But in Īśvara (God), there is no variety. He declares ordinary practice to be the proof of difference, in the words 'Kāthaka,' etc., which mean that, though the sense is the same, we use the distinctions of Kāthaka, Kālāpaka, etc., in consequence of the difference of order. Here by saying that the order is not eternal, it is meant that the words are the same, and thus the [full] character [of the Veda], as sound [consisting both of words and their meanings, is preserved?]. And this is what is asserted in the words, 'consequently Katha and the other sages,' etc."

After quoting these passages at greater length than I have given them, Prof. Goldstücker goes on to remark in his note: "I have quoted the full gloss of the three principal commentators, on this important Sūtra [of Panini] and its Vārttikas, because it is of considerable interest in many respects. . . . We see Kaiyyāṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa writhing under the difficulty of reconciling the eternity of the Veda with the differences of its various versions, which, nevertheless, maintain an equal claim to infallibility. Patanjali makes rather short work of this much vexed question; and unless it be allowed here to render his expression *varṇa* (which means 'letter'), 'word,' it is barely possible even to understand how he can save consistently the eternity or permanence of the 'sense' of the Veda. That the modern Mīmāṃsists maintain not only the 'eternity of the sense,' but also the 'permanence of the text,' which is tantamount to the exclusive right of one single version, we learn, amongst others, from Nāgojibatta. But as such a doctrine has its obvious dangers, it is not shared in by the old Mīmāṃsists, nor by Nāgoji, as he tells us himself. He and Kaiyyāṭa inform us therefore that *amongst other* theories, there is one, according

to which the order of the letters (or rather words) in the Vaidik texts got lost in the several Pralayas or destructions of the worlds; and since each Manwantara had its own revelation, which differed only in the expression, not in the sense of the Vaidik texts, the various versions known to these commentators represent these successive revelations, which were 'remembered,' through their 'excessive accomplishments,' by the Rishis, who in this manner produced, or rather reproduced, the texts current in their time, under the name of the versions of the Kāthas, Kalāpas, and so on. In this way each version had an equal claim to sanctity. There is a very interesting discussion on the same subject by Kumārila, in his *Mīmāṃsā-vārttika* (i. 3, 10)."

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